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Charles I to Tsar Michael, 10 August 1630, RGADA, F. 35, op. 2, no. 48.



Art and Diplomacy

*Seventeenth-Century English Decorated Royal Letters
to Russia and the Far East*

By

Maija Jansson



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Maija Jansson

New Haven, Connecticut, February 2015

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All of the letters to the tsars are printed with permission from The Russian State Archives of Ancient Acts.

Introduction

Some years ago after a tour of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents Mikhail Lukichev, the then Director, invited us to his office to see at close hand a sampling of their finest treasures. The first and second, personally selected for my husband, an historian of Russia, were a beautifully bound medieval Chronicle and the law code of 1649 neatly coiled in its cylindrical wrought gold canister. The third, chosen for my interests, was a limned letter from Charles I to Tsar Michael written sometime in the early 1630s. I was struck by the color and design, never having seen reference to anything like it in England, nor for that matter anywhere in European or Scandinavian archives. Little did I know then that ornamentation was reserved for Eastern potentates and that the tsar and patriarch were included in that group.

Fascinated, I listened to Director Lukichev describe the other hundred and thirteen decorated English letters in the collection (of comparable beauty he said) and began to wonder who else other than the Russians received them, and who painted them and why. And so began a flood of questions, the answers inspiring what I conceived eventually would be a study of decorated English documents of the seventeenth century within their historical milieu. In the meantime I was in the midst of annotating the last volumes of debates in the Long Parliament and work on decorated manuscripts could begin only after that edition was finished.

As fate would have it, however, about the time of the completion of the parliamentary edition I was in Aberdeen, Scotland, where Mikhail Ryzhenkov, the now Director of the Russian State Archives (RGADA) was also present. We talked about the English royal letters and I expressed my enthusiasm for writing about them. He encouraged the study and to expedite the process made available to me copies of all of them.

As the project unfolded I soon learned that the English had sent decorated letters elsewhere and that there could be in theory if not in fact extant English decorated royal letters outside of Russia. Edward Norgate, the limner responsible for the ornamentation of the documents at the beginning of the century held a patent to prepare letters for the tsar and the patriarch, the emperor of Persia, the kings of Bantam, Macassar, Barbary, Siam, Achin, Fez,¹ Sus and other distant kings and potentates. Others continued the work after the Restoration, bringing new techniques to the process of preparing the letters.

1 Morocco.

It also became apparent that throughout the century Western monarchs did not warrant decorated letters. The Eastern rulers of China and Japan for whom decorated letters were prepared were not enumerated in Norgate's patent but fell within the broad category of "distant rulers and potentates." I found examples of English royal letters sent to them in collections of trading company records and libraries outside of London, possibly having arrived in the latter by way of the long circuitous route of manuscript migration. Those now in the East India Company Records and in other collections in the British Library were likely to have simply returned with the ship on which they were sent, never having been delivered at all.

The more I thought about the letters in the Russian collection and talked to scholars who had seen and read some of them, the more I realized how unique they were and how multi-faceted their importance was to an English and Western audience. For one thing they represent a span of limning and writing almost a century and a half long. For another they constitute records of personal as well as diplomatic business of the king and, in the earlier century, the queen. In all cases they represent the Crown. Although this book focuses on the seventeenth century, the letters in the Russian collection begin in 1557 with eighteen from the Elizabethan period. Only one is decorated.² Maria Salomon-Arel read some of them in preparing her dissertation on the Muscovy Company and Norman Evans referenced the letters to Boris Godunov when printing copies from the Public Record Office. For the seventeenth century the English letters to the tsar and patriarch span the years from 1617 to 1687, James I to James II (although some have been defaced), reflecting the politics of monarchy, republicanism, and restoration. Naturally they provide the focal point around which this book is written.

The art work on the letters for the first half of the seventeenth century is not only of superlative quality but also indicates the English limner's fascination with Renaissance design. The letters also celebrate the state. The flowers displayed on the borders are those that over the centuries had come to symbolize dynastic estates and royal families—the red and white roses of the Tudors and Lancastrians, the fleurs-de-lis of France, the thistles of Scotland. On one letter in particular (10 August 1630) blossoms, berries, and nuts from the indigenous English landscape were incorporated for their color, design, and perhaps symbolism. On another (20 May 1623) the bearded iris, daffodil and marigold, often looking more like a dandelion, but brilliant in golden yellow, were included as well as ivy leaves and honeysuckle vines entwined to interrupt the bouquet. Threaded through all of the floral patterns is scrollwork, sometimes acanthus

2 25 April 1561, F 35, op. 2, RGADA. Elizabeth I to Ivan III.

leaves, sometimes not, and often gold or highlighted in gold leaf, patterns that became more and more prominent as designs from Italian and French books were increasingly introduced into the limning.

Integrated with the floral patterns and gold work are displayed elements of state—royal arms and shields encircled with the garter and painted in the brilliant pallet prescribed by the marshals and heralds. Animals of various sorts are part of the heraldry—lions rampant and quadrant; unicorns armed and crined. It is clear that in some instances the ornamentation reflects the spirit of the moment, as in the case of the letter sent from Charles I to Tsar Aleksei in 1646. In those designs echoing Rome and the Romans, Charles was perhaps seeing himself in the role of Emperor, a part he had played on the court stage years earlier. There are other cases, however, where the decorative motifs seem to bear no relationship at all to any event of the time or particular interest of the king. They appear as pure design leaving the viewer to think that, in fact, they had no meaning beyond the simple purpose of magnificently framing a royal message, a case of art serving the Crown.

Whether fraught with meaning or examples of pure design, within the Russian collection in RGADA is English limning not found anywhere else in the world. The span of the collection allows us to look at the continuum and see changes in technique over a century of time. Like the unique pieces of English silver of the same period displayed in the Kremlin galleries today, the letters were preserved for centuries in Russian archives by and large protected from the vicissitudes of time, from damp and mold and thieves and war. No other comparable collection exists.

Royal letters constitute an aspect of royal diplomacy outside of the realm of ambassadorial missions and as such are factors in the expression of state policy and even state power. Therefore, in addition to describing their form and ornamentation, I have tried to place the letters within their historical and political context. What becomes clear in assembling the Russian letters is a sense of community that existed within the English quarter in Moscow and embraced far more than merchants and members of the Muscovy Company. The tsars wanted English doctors, apothecaries, jewellers, minerologists, and gunsmiths working in Moscow, and the proposals and arrangements for them were initiated in the royal correspondence. Much more research needs to be done in order to understand the transmission of cultural ideas through the doors opened by trade. With regard to the English community in Moscow the article by John H. Appleby listed in the bibliography is a good place to begin.

Although the present book describes all of the decorated letters of the seventeenth century in the collection in the Russian State Archives (RGADA) it is not meant to be a catalogue raisonné of all extant seventeenth-century decorated

English documents. Many of the royal letters and even treaties that were sent out from England, particularly to the East, have been lost or are archived in inaccessible foreign repositories (or both!) and I have been unable to find them but hope that perhaps in future they can be accounted for.

Editorial Conventions

The texts of the royal letters are printed in full for each reigning monarch: James I, Charles I, Charles II and James II. The letters are numbered in square brackets sequentially for each king; subsequent references to any letter, either in the text or in the collection of letters itself, will always appear in square brackets. The dates in the italicized headings for each letter are in new style reflecting the change of the year at the beginning of January. Original spelling has been kept in the transcriptions of the texts, although 'u' and 'v', seemingly randomly interchanged at the time of writing, are rendered here in the modern form. Abbreviations are extended. Punctuation has been minimally added in places where it was necessary in order to have a readable sentence.

All of the original letters are written in a clear, clerical italic hand in brown ink often with proper nouns embellished in gold that I have italicized here. There is no paragraphing in the original documents. In the cases of several very long letters I have introduced paragraphs for the ease of the reader. I have also included modern spelling of proper names in square brackets following the name as it appears in the text. For delivery or presentation the letters were folded across the width and length of the document, the number of times dependent on the size of the parchment, to form a square wherein was written an endorsement that sometimes, but not always, had a narrow decorated border similar in design to that on the inside of the letter. I have not included the endorsements as they repeat at length the tsar's titles within the letters, and the decoration, if there is any, repeats in miniature the design on the borders.

All of the book and article titles in short form in the footnotes are included in full in the bibliography.

Documents and Design



Instruments of State Policy

As is hinted in the Introduction, the story of English decorated royal letters is more complicated than it may first appear. There are many things to consider. If we imagine ourselves the recipient of such a letter, as was the tsar of Russia and other rulers, we might first be struck by the novelty of receiving it at all. It would have traveled half way around the world, be written in an unknown language in an alien alphabet and sent from a person we never met, sometimes delivered by an ordinary merchant. Those complexities arising from that alien alphabet and foreign language regarding translations, transliterations, and titles are discussed below in Chapter 2. Alphabets and translations aside, however, we would immediately be taken by the letter's beauty. Large in size, colorfully limned, and embellished with gold leaf, the design would fascinate and intrigue us. If we were archivists it might encourage us (quite secretly) to cut off the borders and take them home to frame over the fireplace, which happened on occasion. But we are not seventeenth-century archivists and our eyes have settled on the decoration framing the text, which is discussed in Chapter 3.

And lastly we might wonder who it was that actually constructed the letter. Who limned and inscribed it, and who was ultimately responsible for the complete document? The discussion of those matters is in Chapter 4. Following that, once the physical construction of the letters has been explained, I have included brief notes in subsequent chapters about the focus of the presentation of each king, for the letters represented the crown that sent them. They reveal the point of view of each sovereign and reign as much as the political, military and economic realities reflect the particularities of each period. Those from Charles I, for example, the greatest art collector in Europe at the time, were limned by Edward Norgate, a herald and friend of artists and courtiers. They were quite different, for example, from those of Charles II who preferred having his letters decorated on a rolling press because it was cheaper! And following the brief notes on each monarch all of the letters that are part of the collection in the Russian archive for that reign are printed in full. Those that went to China and Japan under James I are from other widespread collections.

The phenomenon of the English decorated royal letter is unique to the seventeenth century but has its roots in various forms of document decoration from an earlier period that begins somewhere in the early sixteenth century. With the relative stability introduced by the Tudors came a more fluid

economy that brought with it increased travel and trade that not only introduced Englishmen to new French and, later, Italian design but also stimulated an interest in more exotic places far from Europe. Markets were sought for English goods outside of Europe as well as trade routes to China, India, and Persia. Merchants dreamed of far flung commercial empires. It is not surprising that along side of the phenomenon of royal letters we witness the rise of the English merchant trading companies.

By the seventeenth century letters from England to the tsars have become more abundant and more highly decorated than the extant few we know of from the previous century.¹ Each one is both private and public, as is explained below, or, as we might say, personal or familial, and governmental. In the latter context the letters address matters of foreign policy, amity and alliance, as well as commercial issues of interest to the Crown. The decoration of the letters, although designed with a particular purpose in mind, as we shall discover below, and created solely for particular foreign rulers, is related to an earlier tradition of limning found on some types of domestic documents issued from the Crown. As the formula for the parts of the text of the letters has medieval antecedents (see p. 51), so we can find similar borrowings of artistic motifs in the limning on domestic charters and letters patent from the Tudor period. What is most startling about the letters, aside from the decoration, is the vivid distinction found in them between the king's person and the crown or government. This theme is apparent throughout the letters.

With the Tudor succession began the development of a government bureaucracy that ultimately meant better property records and resultant tax revenues which provided the financial means to furnish the royal court with all of the accoutrements of secular magnificence. As the Renaissance moved northward a new artistic spirit emerged in almost every sphere of English life and Henry VIII's court became one of the important courts of Renaissance Europe. For the courtiers a multitude of country houses were built and fifty-five palaces that needed furnishing.² New designs appeared on fabrics, plasterwork, silverware, and wooden carved mantle pieces. Craftsmen were brought from Milan and Brussels to work intricate patterns in metal for the King's armor.³ Indeed,

1 During the reigns of Philip and Mary and Elizabeth eighteen letters were sent to the tsar, of which one is decorated on all three borders (RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 30), Elizabeth I to Ivan IV, 25 April 1561. Three others from Elizabeth I to Boris Godunov have embellished initials and gold swirls across the first line, and two have had the borders cut off. From the accession of James I in 1603 until James II fled to France we have 114 decorated letters.

2 Starkey, *Henry VIII*, p. 8.

3 Ibid., pp. 42–46.

all of the ceremonies, revels and tournaments of the court demanded decorated flags, canopies, coaches, and even barges. By 1610 a cushion cover could be seen with the royal Stuart arms side-by-side with stylized tulips from Iznik pottery in Turkey. Designs from tiles and carpets from the Orient, we are told, were beginning to interact with native design.⁴ It was not an accident, then, that the idea of decorating documents—crown charters and royal letters—became more popular. Under Elizabeth the artistic needs of the court were multiplied, the work of the College of Arms and the Heralds' Office increased, the Company of Painter-Stainers achieved new importance with the charter granted in 1581.⁵ Even so, however, there is little literature regarding sixteenth and seventeenth-century decorative arts and even less concerning document decoration, with the exception, perhaps, of the ornamentation of maps and the celebrated initials on the plea rolls described by Erna Auerbach.⁶

Auerbach tells us that the decorated initial 'P' for '*Placita*' or 'Plea' that incorporated a miniature portrait of the king on the first membrane of the Plea Rolls of the Court of Kings Bench makes its appearance as early as the reign of H. VI in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁷ By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, the miniatures had become more sophisticated in style, even capturing changes in the aging of the king.⁸ Of most importance, nevertheless, was that the likeness of the king (or queen) signified his (or her) theoretical presence in that Court. The idea of recognizing the presence artistically became institutionalized through the centuries and throughout succeeding monarchies a miniature was regularly included on documents expressing the presence of the Crown. On court rolls it would stand as a reminder of the seat of power to the attorney general and the judges of the realm; in grants and royal letters it made clear the decisions and opinions were those of the monarch. Throughout the seventeenth century, portrait miniatures by and large continue on the King's Bench Controlment Rolls, treaties, royal charters and grants, and once in the Russian collection on a royal letter under the Signet (James I [13]) indicating the crown or government position regarding a license for John Scroope (or Scrope) to travel. The miniaturists who decorated these documents were probably the same artists whose tiny portraits became popular for ambassadorial gifts that could be easily carried and jewelry as locketts

4 Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Jacobean England*, pp. 3–14; 221–234.

5 Borg, *Painters*, p. 333.

6 See, for example, Lynam, *The Mapmaker's Art*; and Swift, *Mapping the World*; and Auerbach, *Tudor Portraits*.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

and pendants that could hold a picture as a memento of a loved one, a wife or a husband, or of the sovereign.

Elizabeth Danbury puts the date of the decoration of royal charters a little later and tells us that it was during the reign of H. VII “that the pattern for embellishment of royal grants for the following two hundred years was established.”⁹ These royal grants and charters are said to be “the most solemn form of Chancery instrument issued under the Great Seal.”¹⁰ The drafting of the documents was overseen by the chancellor, sometimes in conjunction with the lord treasurer, and always with the authority and ultimately the signature of the sovereign.

Originally the lord chancellor had been the king’s private secretary and was always the keeper of the Great Seal.¹¹ The Chancery itself, descended from the Anglo Saxon scriptorium, was the place where charters and royal writs were drawn and sealed.¹² Its jurisdiction grew over the years, its judicial activity expanding in tandem with the government itself. By the end of the sixteenth century myriad clerks were responsible for the records of disparate sections of Chancery. Only that institution could process the instruments whereby English kings could make grants to individuals and institutions that are inscribed in the Close Rolls, Charter Rolls and Patent Rolls. Once a case was decided and a grant drafted, it was engrossed, or fair written on parchment, and enrolled in Chancery. The enrollment established its legal validity and recorded its content for all time. It would have been made by one of the clerks of Chancery, being “carefully written but devoid of ornament.”¹³ The decoration, if chosen, would come later on a copy of the document made at the request of the recipient, who would then take it to the limner of his choice to have it decorated for posterity to hang in the great hall of the family’s country house. The Grant of Augmentation of Arms from Charles I to Sir William Alexander, first earl of Stirling, 1634, is such an example that hangs at Audley End House today. It is believed by some to have been limned for the earl by Edward Norgate, the original grant being enrolled in Chancery.¹⁴ Although it is much more elaborate, with much greater detail, it has on the left border a number of landscapes

9 Danbury, “Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters,” p. 176.

10 Bond and Evans, “Granting Charters,” p. 102; *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office*, I, 7–10, 15.

11 *Ibid.*, I, 7.

12 Baker, *English Legal History*, p. 114.

13 Maxwell-Lyte, *Great Seal*, p. 266. Occasionally an initial might be embellished in gold.

14 The grant, 580 × 750 mm., heavily decorated, hangs today at Audley End House. Muller and Murell, *Miniatura*, pp. 31, 45.

similar in idea to the smaller and more crudely designed roundels on the letter from Charles I to the tsar in 1630 (frontispiece). In another example, the motifs surrounding the enthroned queen in the 1584 Charter of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, are similar to those on other letters of the 1630s.¹⁵ Executed by Nicholas Hilliard, a court limner before Norgate's time, that charter displays grotesques and decorative fruit taken from Italian design. On both of these documents we see the monarch in majesty (enthroned and displaying the cloth of state, the orb, and the scepter) in the upper left hand corner, although a portrait rather than the whole figure, could sufficiently make the point of the sovereign's presence.

Besides these, all private grants, letters patent, royal charters and commissions, legal documents connected to Crown lands such as recoveries, and other grants promulgated by the Crown for private individuals and defined groups, such as towns and boroughs, when limned were paid for by the recipient or, perhaps, the donor. This, in contradistinction to the decoration of the royal letters paid for out of the king's household accounts. In both cases, however, the importance of the limning is apparent. Limning on the royal letters will be taken up in subsequent chapters but suffice it to say here that the quality of the artwork enhancing domestic charters and patents, as one historian has pointed out, indicates "the willingness of beneficiaries to pay to enhance the appearance of the physical evidence of new privilege, increased status and royal favor."¹⁶ The designs varied. Depending on what the grant was for—a piece of property, a grant of arms, a patent for a new piece of machinery or a new process—generally the royal coat of arms and the family coat of arms were included and decorated with various flora and fauna in lively colors. Boroughs and towns that were newly incorporated had their charters enhanced with the arms of the town and other devices and pictures of local interest. Charter illumination was often "derived directly from the content of the grant."¹⁷ The Hereford Borough charter granted in 1605, for example, has a remarkable ornate border of an "imagined rural scene." One of fifty towns that were granted charters during the seventeenth century, through its formal incorporation Hereford gained control over its "own markets, fairs, and courts" and was freed from "the manorial rights of royal or noble landowners."¹⁸ For boroughs and towns the cost of obtaining a charter could be substantial. That boroughs were willing to bear these expenses, "with few exceptions the

¹⁵ See p. 132.

¹⁶ Danforth, "Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters," p. 178.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁸ A partial picture of the charter can be seen in Worden, *Stuart England*, p. 32.

largest financial liability a borough was ever to incur,” underscores the importance of these records.¹⁹ For, it was in paying for the charters that the boroughs demonstrated “the value they placed on their privileges and independence.”²⁰ Decorating a charter further added to its cost but greatly enhanced the importance and value of what was already recognized as a document that defined the very essence of the borough.²¹

Documents of a domestic nature that recorded grants to institutions or individuals were different from royal letters in ways other than cost. For one thing, as we have said, they emanated from a different source. The royal letters were in the purview of the secretary of state, as were formal trade agreements and treaties. Moreover, they were instruments of state or crown policy that explained the position of the Crown over the signature of the king. The domestic grants, as we have said, resulted from decisions in Chancery. Although those decisions were expressions of royal largesse they were not expressions of Crown positions on foreign policy. In addition the domestic grants and charters posed few of the problems connected with the drafting of treaties, penning of diplomatic credentials, and compiling letters for the king’s signature. They did not relate to the nation as a whole because they were local and private, pertaining to individuals or local corporations. Moreover their preparation was not encumbered with the complications of language and translation we spoke of earlier because the documents were devised for a domestic rather than a foreign audience. Ultimately, the only things these Chancery documents may have had in common with the royal letters are the king’s signature and the limner, whose identity in most cases remains unknown.

19 Bond and Evans, “*Granting Charters*,” p. 120. Danforth, “*Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters*,” p. 178.

20 Ibid.

21 The fees for decorating or limning estate and town and borough records can often be recovered from family records and accounts in the volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission that include calendars of archival collections, as well as full printed documents for many towns and boroughs.

Complexities of Decorated Royal Letters

Letters were normally the only available means of direct communication between rulers in the seventeenth century. When writing beyond Europe and Scandinavia the English king was always addressing a person he had never met and whose protocols he was familiar with only through having read ambassadorial reports. Japanese and Chinese court etiquette was very much a mystery in London. With Russia's ceremonials, however, it was different. Accounts of merchants and ambassadors described the tsar's court relating stories of fabulous gold and silver serving dishes at the royal banquets, courtiers wearing robes adorned with precious pearls, and colorful Persian carpets everywhere warming the cold stone and wood floors of the tsar's receiving rooms. Generally, however, despite the richness described in the accounts and the knowledge of Russian love for things decorative, problems of distance, language, and unfamiliarity remained to be reckoned with by the secretaries of state responsible for drafting the king's letters. The form of the letters was dictated by precedent; knowledge of language and customs was provided as well as could be by the small community in London who had been to the places in question.¹

Decorated royal letters to foreign rulers from the time of the Middle Ages had served two purposes. They conveyed at once the personal messages of the king of England and the governmental business of the English crown; and with respect to each component they bore the arms of the dynasty and carried the emblems of state. They were, in a sense, an example of the aesthetic of public and private theorized by modern Renaissance scholars.² To historians, however, the importance of the letters lies in their nature as official documents wherein titles, salutations, and closings denoted empire, indicated familial relationships, and underscored policies.

In the beginning of the century James I and Charles I generally paid for the preparation and sending of their royal letters through the treasurers of

1 Many early accounts of travel in Russia are printed in *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom*, ed. Berry and Crummy. Giles Fletcher, for example, ambassador to Russia in 1588, on his return wrote a book *Of the Russe Common Wealth, or Maner of Governement of the Russe Emperour*, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and published in 1591. For a bibliography of other early accounts, see Poe, *Foreign Descriptions of Muscovy, An Analytic Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources*.

2 Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, p. 18.

their Households, Sir William Uvedale and Sir Thomas Edmonds. Charles II did the same later through Sir Edward Griffin. Under Oliver Cromwell costs for government letters (which were not decorated) were charged to the general Treasury as part of the state budget but that system was as short lived as the Commonwealth itself and with the Restoration of the crown payment returned to the Household, a throw back to earlier years and personal monarchy. The fact that the budget for the King's letters came from the Crown and not the Treasury reveals the centrality of the king's part in foreign affairs even beyond the formal diplomatic channels of regular diplomacy.

As England's commerce increased during the sixteenth century the Crown and the trading companies developed a symbiotic relationship. Merchants looked for royal support in their quest for privileges in foreign parts both East and West. The Crown in turn depended heavily on the merchants' knowledge of languages and societies in order to forge new diplomatic relations and formal alliances that would ultimately mean wealth and empire for England. New markets were essential for English products, particularly cloth. That Charles I could write to the tsar saying that the commodities our merchants bring are not 'superfluous' or 'excessive' to "exhaust your wealth or corrupt the manners of your subjects" but "of more use and benefit" than those gotten elsewhere, indicates how much the King and his Secretaries understood the meaning of trade and markets (Charles I [18]). It was quickly apparent that such knowledge was necessary if commercial relationships were to blossom. This became a complex diplomatic problem in the beginning of the seventeenth century, particularly with regard to the Far East.

Language and Translation

Royal letters provide not only records of accounts of actions and transactions between rulers and states but they also convey something of the spirit that existed between correspondents. For the contemporaries, understanding the tone as well as the content of the letters depended on the fluency and accuracy of the translations made in the courts of those who received them, be they in Moscow, Istanbul, Edo or elsewhere. It was requisite that the translation not only be letter-perfect but also rendered with a sophisticated understanding of the nuances of language and the social customs of the society and government in question. Merchants were the only ones at the time who had the broad experience that brought with it this understanding. They were often called upon and worked closely with the secretaries of state advising about alliances of friendship and the negotiating of commercial agreements.

Within the office of the English secretary of state were undersecretaries who served the principal secretaries as both translators and composers of the texts of documents in the major European tongues: French, Spanish, German, and Latin. Their tasks were complicated as rules regarding protocol and language were still evolving at the end of the sixteenth century. By the end of the seventeenth, even though European languages were familiar to Englishmen and written in the Latin alphabet, confusion over dialects and meaning still occurred. In the late 1660s the secretary's office intercepted a letter they believed to be written in 'High Dutch' and only after struggling with the translation found it to be in Danish!³ In 1673, in a letter recommending one Mr. Platt for a position as translator he was praised for the fact that he "speaks and writes most elegantly and perfectly" Italian, Spanish, French, and Dutch, which no one else could do but the secretary himself, "there being between understanding languages and performing this . . . a vast difference."⁴

For countries further east—China, India, Japan, Persia, Turkey, and Russia—that did not use the Latin alphabet, problems of written and oral communication were even more difficult. In those cases the Crown was entirely dependent on the linguistic skills of the merchant communities that, in addition, outfitted and sailed the only ships regularly going and returning to the East that could carry ambassadors and government messengers together with commercial stores. Granting crown authority to the merchants, however, was not without repercussions because it was not always clear to non-English rulers how royal presence was conveyed. If merchants were trades people, how could they represent monarchy? Paul Canning, a factor in India around 1612 had told the Mogul Jahángír that the letter he brought "was from his king" and that the presents that accompanied it were "from the merchants," an honest statement. A Jesuit there, however, played against the English telling the mogul that the "king sent him nothing," which was an insult, and that the presents from the merchants were given "only through desire of traffic."⁵ Although the English knew the mogul was offended they lacked the language to clarify the matter. In another instance, recorded by Sir Thomas Roe, the mogul "provoked mee too talke, and I calling for an interpreter hee refused it and pressed mee to vse such woordes as in Persian I had."⁶ Roe complied (he had been at the Indian court since 1615 and no doubt had learned some Persian, the language of the court) but wrote that "our discourse had not much sense" although the mogul

3 CSPD 1672–1673, 16 Feb. 1673, p. 569.

4 CSPD 1673, 28 July 1673, p. 465.

5 Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, p. 148.

6 *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, II, 377.

“took it well and with much courtesy demonstrated a good opinion.” Remarking on the Roe embassy a modern historian notes that in the early part of the century “For all their rigor about records, the English lacked the Persian, Arabic, or Hindustani requisite for negotiation in India.”⁷

In some instances Company personnel also served as royal ambassadors, as had been the case with Roe who was fully commissioned. His dual role although recognized by the mogul's court was apparently not understood, as witnessed in the story above. John Merrick, an agent for the Muscovy Company, had been sent by Elizabeth and later King James as full ambassador to the Russian tsar first in 1602 and later in 1614. Prominent in the Company, he was knighted by James I for his service to the Crown.

Under James, when trade was first opening with up China and Japan, there was great confusion regarding the form the letters of introduction to the rulers of those countries should take. Fortunately, we have some journals and letters kept by sea captains and merchants for the East India Company, chartered in 1600, that shed light on the construction and transmission of royal documents to be carried East. These accounts also indicate the degree of ignorance under which the English government operated about Japan, an ignorance of language and titles that was compounded by the strictures of time and distance and the absence of an émigré community in London from which to learn.

News from the East had often gone through several translators before arriving in London. On the Company's eighth voyage Captain John Saris recorded that he picked up his linguist, who had been born in Japan, in Bantam. He was, wrote Saris, “well skild in the Mallayan tongue wherein he delivred to me what the King spoke unto him in the Japan language.”⁸ Saris himself had learned Malaysian on an earlier voyage.⁹

Aside from the complexities of language was the English unfamiliarity with the structure of society, the social hierarchy, and court customs in the East. In the case of Japan, with a figurehead emperor and a politically powerful shogun, the system was sufficiently different from the English as to create frequent confusion and some misunderstanding. Moreover, in the early seventeenth century the confusion was compounded by real changes in government personnel, the accession of a new emperor in 1603 (Go-Yozei) and again in 1611 (Go-Misunoo) and a new shogun (Ieyasu) in 1603 ushering in the Tokugawa period. Ieyasu was succeeded by his son Hidetada in 1616. The immense distance between England and Japan assured that news of these changes would

7 Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, p. 160.

8 Satow, ed., *Voyage of Captain John Saris*, p. 84.

9 Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 91.

be long in reaching London. For this reason decorated letters ordered by the secretary of state were carried by outgoing ships of the East India Company with the titles left blank to be filled in by a Company factor with the correct name and form of address for the current ruler on arrival (James I [4]).

It should be added, however, that simply having a correct document in hand did not guarantee an understanding of the ceremonials at court on the presentation of that document. In the case of Japan, although the English may have been in the dark about protocols, the fault was not entirely their own. It took a while for the new government to establish workable patterns of diplomatic exchange. In the beginning of its rule “the Tokugawa shogunate lacked fully developed protocols for the conduct of international relations.”¹⁰ Mistakes were made.

In his account of the eighth voyage Saris provides an example of how the royal letters were presented and the titles of the English king understood. For that voyage the ship *Clove* left England on 18 April 1611, and arrived in Japan in June 1613, having refitted in Bantam before reaching her destination. At Tilbury, ten days before departure from England Saris, as captain and a company factor, had received his commission for command and also letters from King James to be delivered to the Great Mogul of Surat and Cambay, the Emperor of Japan, the King of Hirado and the King of Bantam, “wheareof one a blanke.” The “King” of Hirado, the trading port destination of the English, was the *exdaimyo* who directed the local government of the area.¹¹

According to his account, on reaching Hirado, Saris, with an accompaniment of nineteen Japanese and Englishmen, set out to present James’s letter, correctly addressed to the emperor and rightfully understood to be read by the shogun. They first had audience in September 1613 with Ieyasu, the old shogun, and then shortly thereafter met with his son Hidetada in Edo.¹² While one might think that on their return to England they would leave behind the blank letter in the hope it could be filled in by a Company factor with a proposal for opening trade between the English factory in Hirado and Korea, it appears to be the case that it returned to London with the ship to eventually become part of the Company’s archive.

Later, in 1616, when Richard Cocks, a Company merchant was at audience with the shogun negotiating for renewal and confirmation of English trading privileges, Hidetada raised questions about religion. He “probed the differences between the Christianity of the Roman Catholic missionaries and the

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 116.

¹¹ Satow, ed., *Voyage of Captain John Saris*, pp. lxxvi, li.

¹² Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, pp. 116–117.

Protestantism of the English and the Dutch.”¹³ (The Japanese had already had a royal ambassador in Rome in 1615.)¹⁴ He asked why James styled himself ‘Defender of the Faith,’ a claim, he said, that the mendicants and Jesuits also made.¹⁵ (And, indeed, the title *Defensor Fidei* had been given to Henry VIII by Pope Leo in 1521 because both the Spanish and French had such phrases attached to their titles, e.g., the ‘Catholic King,’ and ‘the most Christian King.’) Cocks, in fiery Protestant zeal railed against the Catholics invoking the gun powder plot and all that it implied and telling the shogun that “they would destroy us all if they could.” Cocks, elated with his performance, left the audience feeling he had won the case and that renewal and expansion of privileges were in hand. Much to his surprise the following day he discovered that the Japanese (at that moment) supported the Portuguese and Jesuit colonies which had been in Japan since the middle of the sixteenth century, and that not only were English privileges not to be renewed but they were now cut back. From then on trade was to be limited to Hirado.

At a second audience the same year (1616) a letter from James I was addressed not to Hidetada but to Ieyasu, who was then dead. This was taken by the Japanese, as one can understand, as a serious breach of protocol reflecting base ignorance. (It is not clear who addressed the letter or whether it was done in England or Japan.) The shogun produced no response to the letter and the English were told to leave if they disliked the existing arrangements.¹⁶ The factory at Hirado established in 1613 was closed in 1623. The Spaniards were expelled from Japan in 1624 and the Portuguese in 1639.¹⁷

The Crown’s ignorance about names and titles in the East led to a device in document preparation that I have called in modern usage a set or form letter-head (James I [1–5]; Fig. 1a).

Another example of such a letter can be found in a factor’s letter book addressed from James I in 1613 “to all monarchies, Emperors, Princes, Potentates, Generals, and [*illegible*] of kingdoms, countries, Townes, and places to whom these presents shall have Greting...” At the finish of the copy is a postscript indicating that “two other blanke letters to be directed as occasion should be, the same as this is...”¹⁸ The letters that the East India Company merchants carried on various voyages were decorated in exactly the

13 Ibid., pp. 197–198.

14 HMC, *Downshire*, v, 390 (#812, News from Rome).

15 Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, p. 197.

16 Ibid., p. 210.

17 Hall, *Japan from Prehistory to Modern Times*, p. 7.

18 Egerton MS 2086, f. 13.



FIGURE 1A James I to the Emperor of Japan, 1612, University of Minnesota, printed through the courtesy of the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota.

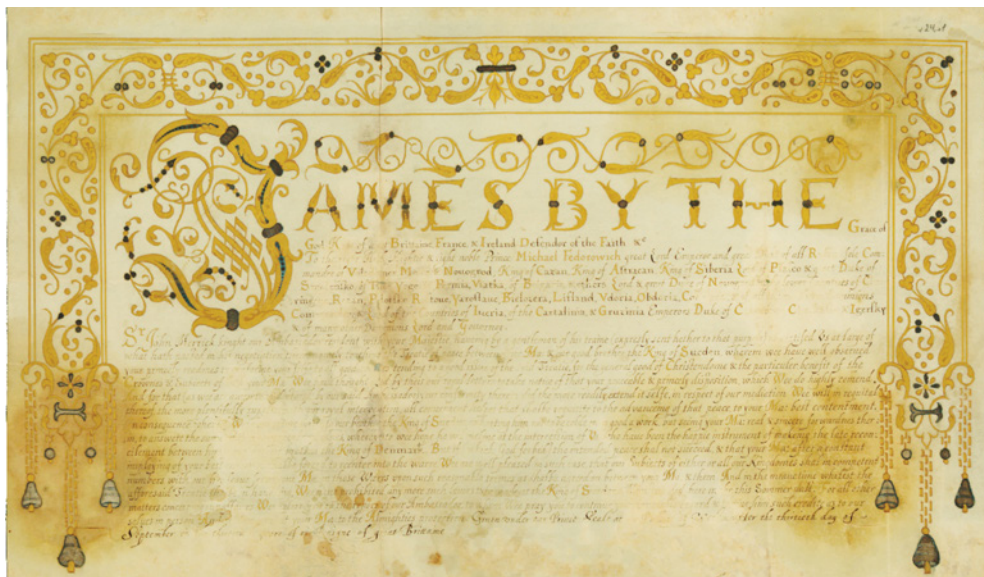


FIGURE 1B James I to Tsar Michael, 30 September 1616, RGADA, F. 35, op. 2, no. 24.

same way and, in fact, the top and side borders were probably traced from a pattern book that has long since disintegrated from use. As mentioned above, the salutation and the titles were written without the inclusion of the proper name of the ruler and without a date, those blanks to be filled later by merchants before the presentation. This practice of sending blanks began under Elizabeth and six such letters went out on the first East India Company voyage of 1600, although there is no indication that they were decorated it seems reasonable to assume that they were.¹⁹ Under James we find in the Court Minutes of the Company for December 1606 hard evidence that letters were limned. They were to be prepared for “the King of Cambaia, the Gouvernor of Aden and other governors near Aden,” and “ordered to be lymned” and prepared “fitt for his Majesties signature” by William Segar, who was then Norry King-of-arms.²⁰ Unfortunately, however, the limner is not named. Royal letters prepared for subsequent voyages in 1610 and 1611 are calendared in the *Register*. Interestingly, the same decorated form letterhead was used in a letter to the tsar in 1616, perhaps traced from the same pattern book.

The matter of what language the text of state communications was to be written in evolved over time. In the case of Russia the Crown was entirely dependent on members of the Muscovy Company for its understanding of the court of the tsar and the policies of its government. No English monarch had ever gone to Russia. (The first royal visit occurred in 1908 when Edward VII visited Nicholas II in Reval.)²¹ Whenever problems developed within the Company causing distrust among members, the matter of the accuracy of translations was questioned by the Crown and sometimes by the Company itself. It was often the case that a Company member sought to turn a profit where he could, and so adjusted the translation of matters of business at hand to suit his own needs or even the Company's immediate wants rather than those of the government sitting in London half way around the world. This was true in the particular case of Ralph Rutter and Christopher Bennet where suspicion arose that Rutter, an interpreter, and Bennet, himself an interloper, in collusion had skewed the truth to benefit themselves. Apparently the English were apprised of the problem and appended to their English letter to the tsar a copy translated into Russian that bore the inscription: “This writinge in the Russian tongue is affirmed by Daniell Silvester Englishman, the interpretor of the ambassador

19 *The Register of Letters* [East India Company], p. 19 n. 2. Previously, in 1585, Elizabeth had written a letter to “the king of China”; only the text is extant. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, I, 207.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 103 n. 1.

21 I want to thank Dominic Lieven for this reference.

of the Emperore of Russia, being sworne upon othe to be the trew copie of the letter, whiche is written in the Englishe tongue by the Queenes Maiestie of England." Even here, however, the tsar was dependent on an Englishman as interpreter for a Russian text of the letter.²²

In May 1570 the Russian ambassador to England, Andrey Grigorievich Sovin, wrote to William Cecil, the principal secretary of state, saying that the emperor of Russia "requireth" that the queen order her letters to him to be written in Russian.²³ The cause for this, he said, was that "the emperour cannot vnderstand anie language but his owne."²⁴ The procedure worked out by the Russians was for the English to translate the Emperor's letter word for word and then to respond "worde for worde" in Russian, the translation to be done "in the sight of the said ambassador." The Queen would then send her own ambassador back with the Russian ambassador to vouch for the accuracy of the letter to the tsar. Ultimately, it seems that the matter of the ruler's acceptance of a translation was personal and depended almost entirely on his or her perception of the integrity and trustworthiness of the translator.

It is interesting to note that there is at least one extant letter suggesting that the Russians tried to find common linguistic ground. Sovin, when he had arrived in England in 1570 brought with him "certen writings in the Russian tongue, which becawse we [the English] could not understand for lack of knowledg of that tongue, the said ambassadour hath delivered to us in certen other writings both in the Romane tongue and in the Italian, which are sayd to be the trew translations of the said lettres in the Russian tongue."²⁵

Oddly enough, if the accounts of Sir Jerome Horsey are to be trusted, Elizabeth was fascinated by the Russian writing on the document from the tsar ascribing privileges to the Muscovy Company in 1589. The document from the tsar to the queen, was read by Sir Francis Walsingham to Elizabeth who then made Horsey, who had carried the document from Russia, kneel by her while she "perused the limning and characters of the privilege." She noted that the letters had some "affinity with the Greek" and "asked if such and such letters and asseverations had not this signification." Then she announced "I could quickly learn it." On second thought, though, she said that my lord of Essex could learn it. He answered the queen saying he would be delighted (what else

22 Regarding Sylvester, see Willan, *Russia Company*, pp. 125–128; Tolstoy, *England and Russia*, p. 82.

23 Cotton MSS, Nero BXI, f. 335. There are several drafts of this letter, see Tolstoy, *England and Russia*, pp. 82–98.

24 Ibid., p. 85.

25 Tolstoy, *England and Russia*, p. 90. Queen Elizabeth to Ivan Vassily.

could he say?) “if he might attain thereunto without painstaking and spending more time than he had to spare.”²⁶

Late in Elizabeth’s reign Charles Parkins, presumably writing to Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury and secretary of state in 1597, said he was first required to write letters for “Barbary” in Latin but that later he had found letters coming from Barbary were written in their own tongue and sent to the queen with a copy in Spanish.²⁷ Moreover, he said he had found a precedent of the queen’s letters to that king written in Spanish. Consequently, with the urging of the merchant community, he said he was writing to discover what language and style would be best “both for the manner, matter, and writing” to Barbary and the King of Morocco. Then he offered his own opinion, saying that “it is with disadvantage both in substance and reputation to write in any other tongue to foreign princes than in English or Latin.” From this time forward, almost without exception, the English monarch’s letters to foreign rulers were written in English and only occasionally in Latin. Similarly, other ruler’s letters were written in their native tongues or in Latin.

Closer than Russia and the Far East was Turkey, whose raisins and dried figs, as well as silks and carpets were ever more popular in England. Charles I, apparently in conjunction with his support of commercial ties with Turkey, developed “a great desire to increase the knowledge of the Eastern languages” in England. About 1634 he had ordered that “every ship returning from those parts should, at their own cost, bring some one or two of the Arabic books there to be had,” and commanded the archbishop of Canterbury to take special care of this business.²⁸ Charles’s interest in Turkey and his support of increased trade there led to the sultan’s bestowing commercial privileges on the English by way of the “Original Capitulations” in 1641.

Under the Commonwealth new rules were put in place for languages and translations to be used in foreign relations. Latin was depended upon and English was encouraged as the language of the Commonwealth. On occasion, however, particularly in the case of Sweden, the English were forced to use French. Bulstrode Whitelocke while ambassador to Queen Christina wrote to John Thurloe, then English secretary of state, that “We shall grow great

26 Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex. See Sir Jerome Horsey’s account of his travels in Russia, *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom*, eds. Berry and Crummy, p. 337. The document in question is printed in Tolstoy, *England and Russia*, pp. 246–353.

27 Barbary, the old name for western North Africa, constituted parts of the modern states of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya.

28 SP 16/383:43. February 1638. Secretary Windebank to the Masters and Governors of the Turkish Company.

linguists here by continual speaking in French and Latin, which is not to be avoided whensoever we meet with those here. The 'Rix' Chancellor speaks good Latin and the Queen only the French."²⁹ Sir Oliver Fleming, the master of ceremonies who had served under Charles when newly appointed by the Commonwealth, questioned what correct procedures he should follow, asking for a clarification of what languages should be used in ambassadorial receptions (see below).

The English title and style from the beginning of the reign of James until 1631 was simply: *King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, etc.*³⁰ The formula was the same for royal letters regardless of the recipient, or whether or not the letter was decorated. For the tsar, who had multiple kingdoms and strings of titles the style was more complicated. In answering James I, Tsar Michael noted his having "received distaste in that letter" because of the references to "Belozursky, Udorsky, Obdorsay, and Condinsky being left out." Noticing the omission, the tsar wrote, that it caused him to "wonder what the reason of it is." He went on to say that the titles are "a matter of great consequence to preserve their majesties honor on both sides" and that he "wisheth the King's Majestie would give command that hereafter there may be more care taken therein." That would, he continued, "avoide a breache of amitie between twoe so great princes."³¹

For the English, Russian titles were doubly difficult, not only because of the number of geographical places they included but also because of the transliteration of those names from the Cyrillic alphabet. One word or phrase in particular that they had problems with was the Russian word *samoderzaets*. Literally meaning 'self upholds' the English took it to mean one who 'upholds' or 'exercises power over,' and who hence would be a 'self upholder.' On the first letter from James I to the tsar where the titles are not spoiled by damp (24 April 1618) the term is translated as "The Lord Emperour . . . by the grace of God holdinge of himself Wollodimur, Mussco, and Novgorod," etc. (James I [7]). About a month later the same year the title is translated as "Lord Emperour . . . selfe-upholder: viz.: of Vlademer, Mosco, Novograd. . . ." (The transliteration or spelling of the Russian place names is different in every document, see, for example, James I [8].)

Titles were critical in royal documents because correspondence between rulers occurred horizontally on the social scale between social equals where

29 *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, II, 23–24. 13 January 1653.

30 *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, I, 97.

31 See S. Konovalov, *OSP*, I (1950), p. 117, Appendix XI, The Russian Reply to Christopher Cocks, 3 May 1624 (SP 91/2, ff. 96–99).

power and image were paramount. One way to ensure correctness was, as Sir Lewis Lewkenor wrote to Cecil in 1603, that his Majesty “write a letter with correspondent style to the same which he had formerly received.” The comment was related to the French King’s address of the English King as “a Monsieur mon Frere, etc.” and James I’s response in writing “A mon trescher frere le Roy treschretien.” Lewkenor saw in the un-corresponding style a “great scandal to his Majesty and imputation to himself,” and so the letter was rewritten.³²

In 1603 at the time of James’s accession to the English throne, Philip II of Spain, Louis XIII of France, Charles IX of Sweden, Christian IV of Denmark, and Sigismund III of Poland were styled kings. The English styled the eastern rulers of China, Japan and the Ottoman lands ‘Emperor’ and, in the case of the Ottoman’s they sometimes added ‘Sultan’ as well. ‘Mogul’ or ‘Great Mogul’ was reserved for India. In Europe Matthias held the imperial title of ‘Emperor’, as did the ‘Tsar of all Russia.’

The question arises, however, as to whether the English king was equivalent to an emperor. The Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) said that histories and chronicles had “manifestly declared” England to be an empire “governed by one supreme head and king having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown.”³³ The case, however, was not straightforward and was debated by the contemporary legal experts Sir Edward Coke and John Selden among others. The word ‘King’ was used consistently in the monarch’s title replicated in proclamations, letters, patents, etc. By the statutes, 25 Henry. VIII, c. 21; 1 Elizabeth. I, c. 1; and 1 James I, c. 1, however, agreed to by both houses of Parliament and passed into law, Coke reminds us that “the crown of this kingdom is affirmed to be an Imperial Crown.”³⁴ Indeed, from the fifteenth century the English monarch wore a closed imperial crown.³⁵ Selden, in *Titles of Honor*, discourses at length on the history of titles and concludes that the name of “emperor” was “lawfully given to him of the east as of the west and allowed so by the western part.” In the same words or “in like form” he said “the term may be without difficulty applied to or used by any which is truly a king.”³⁶ “What can an emperor do that a King may not?” he asks. Selden was echoing the late medieval maxim, “*rex in regno suo est imperator*,” a king within his own kingdom is an Emperor.³⁷ James may have used the style of King for reasons of custom and precedent

32 HMC, *Salisbury*, XV, 152–153.

33 SR, 24 H. VIII, c. 12.

34 Coke, *Fourth Institutes*, p. 343.

35 Ibid., p. 343; Strong, *Coronation*, p. 122.

36 Selden, *Titles of Honor*, p. 27. See also *ibid.* (1631 ed.), p. 343.

37 Strong, *Coronation*, p. 122.

but clearly thought of himself as an emperor. In his proclamation concerning the King's style James speaks of the union of the "ancient kingdoms of England and Scotland under one Imperial Crown"—his composite state.³⁸

Brought up in Scottish Calvinism, James kept in his title the traditional phrase of "defender of the faith," as did his son Charles and his grandsons Charles II and James II. The phrase itself constituted a definite component of the notion of medieval kingship. All kings and queens of England were sworn at their coronation to defend the faith and "therefore," said Sir Edward Coke, they were "of common right defenders of the faith." It was partially with regard to the defense of the faith that strong alliances were sought with Russia in the early seventeenth century. Knowing that the Orthodox Church "was absolutely antithetical to Rome," James did not hesitate to negotiate with the tsar newly elected after the time of troubles.³⁹ Indeed James's interest in Russia, aside from trade, was predicated on his desire to secure an alliance in the north against Catholic Sigismund in Poland. Moreover, James apparently also had a general interest in "a religious reunion" among Christian churches that would embrace Orthodoxy.⁴⁰ On the other hand, as we have seen above, this part of the title, sometimes used with the additional word 'Christian,' as 'Defender of the Christian Faith,' much confused and offended the Japanese. As mentioned above, they had understood from the Portuguese that the Jesuits, as well as the Dutch and English merchants were all Christians and so could not fathom the antagonism between them. In the case of the emperors of Japan and China the title provided by the English in the royal letter includes an additional phrase describing God as "the Creator of Heaven and Earth" which can be read as an appeal to a more universal deity.

It was known that the extent of imperial territory was important to image. When the ambassador to Tsar Fyodor (1588–1589), Giles Fletcher, recounted in his report that he feigned forgetfulness of the tsar's full titles it was "out of determination to defend the honor of Queen Elizabeth whose style was considerably shorter."⁴¹

Charles used the same title as had his father until 1631 when, in the course of one day it all changed. On 19 May 1631 he wrote to the patriarch of Russia as "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland," etc., and signed the letter from his palace at Westminster. In the body of the letter he referred to the place of

38 *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, I, pp. 94–98.

39 *England and the North*, pp. 2–3.

40 For a full discussion of James's thought on this subject, see Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*.

41 *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom*, eds. Berry and Crummy, p. 90.

the patriarch as in “the Imperiall citie of Mosco.” The following day, however, he wrote twice to the tsar as from the “King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland,” etc., using the old form and perhaps indicating that he was ruler of more dominions by spelling out England and Scotland rather than lumping those lands together as Great Britain, a composite state.⁴² Moreover, he signed the letter from his “Imperiall cittie of London and in our roayll Pallace there, the year since Christ’s birth 1631 and the 20th day of May” (Charles I [21 & 22]). It appears that he was confirming himself as emperor of many lands without changing the age-old title of ‘King,’ thus the new closing that identified the place of the king’s person as imperial. Charles’s decision to embrace and confirm his own imperial status neatly coincided with his dissolution of parliament and growing enthusiasm for the Roman theme in art and theatre. (See Chapter 6, below.)

From this time until the end of his life on the letters to the tsar he used the separate words ‘England’ and ‘Scotland’ rather than referring to the composite monarchy of ‘Great Britain’ and, until 1647, when he was officially in the hands of Parliament, called the place where he was present ‘Imperial.’ In 1631 he had also begun reckoning his reign from the birth of Christ rather than from the day of his succession, placing the monarchy within the long duration of historical time. In a parallel situation, after the beginning of 1632 the term ‘Great Britain’ generally disappears from use at the end of royal proclamations.⁴³

After Charles’s death in 1649 the new government in England immediately faced the question of what to call itself and how it should be addressed. It was encouraged to settle on a definite form after receipt of letters like that of August 1649 from the burgomaster and senators of Hamburg with the overblown subscription in bad Latin: *Illustrissimis excellentis. Nobilis ac magnificis dominis, Dominis celsiss. Domus Parliamenti in Anglia ordinibus, Dominis nostris observandissiums [sic]*. After much discussion of the matter of address, in January 1650, almost a year after the King’s execution, the Council of State reported to parliament that the style to be used in all transactions and negotiations with foreign princes and states was: *Parliamentum Republicae Angliae*.⁴⁴ The style and title of address to be made to the Parliament from foreign princes and states was to be to the ‘Parliament of the Commonwealth’ (but sometimes ‘Republic’) of England and “in no other style or title.”⁴⁵ In January 1651 Parliament refused an audience with Peter Spiering, a minister of Sweden,

42 Ibid.

43 *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, II, 306, 338, 341, 344, 350, 353, 355, 359, etc.

44 *CSPD 1649–1650*, 30 January 1650, p. 497.

45 Ibid.

because his credentials had been addressed simply to the 'Republic' not in the stipulated style to the 'Parliament of the Republic of England.'⁴⁶

It took time, however, for the wider world first to become aware of and then to learn the protocols of the new Commonwealth. Sir Oliver Fleming, the master of ceremonies who had served under Charles and was newly reappointed by the Commonwealth, questioned what procedures he should follow for receptions and audiences. Knowing that the Commonwealth would "wrestle with many difficulties incidental to a new government" he hoped that other peoples would "apprehend the prosperity" in England and seek "to imitate so laudable an example."⁴⁷ Fleming wrote that the Kings of England "had not these great titles given to them as particular men" but that the titles "Most Excellent, Most High, and Most Mighty" were given "in relation to the greatness and potency of the Commonwealth from whence all their titles were derived." Thus, he said, that such titles as "hold forth the supreme authority of this nation" should be kept and insisted upon, that there be no diminution of honor due to the Commonwealth. Fleming also raised the question of whether in ambassadorial receptions the letters and propositions should be read both in English and in the native tongue of the visitor, a question likewise for negotiations with the Council of State. It appears that English was decided on, necessitating the employment of many translators on both sides. Letters, however, sent out to Hamburg as well as to other German cities and principalities were translated into German or Latin and generally at this time by John Milton himself.⁴⁸

After the death of his father Charles II immediately claimed his title by the rules of hereditary succession. In September 1649 he wrote to Tsar Aleksei as from "Charles the second of that name," describing himself as "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland." The proclamation issued the previous February in Jersey provided authority for that title, although he wore no crown and was living in France at the time. Like kings before him, during his exile and after the Restoration he was dependent on his secretaries of state to assure that documents were properly addressed. In 1667 Sir Patrick Gordon, when asked to carry a letter from Charles II to the tsar with the superscription "*Illustrissimo*" rather than the correct "*Serenissimo*" refused for fear of losing his head. The letter was quickly corrected.⁴⁹

Apparently nothing was said, however, when a new clerk in the office of Secretary of State in 1667 began copying the titles and transcribing the endings

46 Huygens, *English Journal* 1651–1656, p. 46.

47 CSPD 1649–1650, April 1649, no. 73, pp. 113–117.

48 Ibid., pp. 48, 269, 468.

49 *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, II, p. 261.

of the words in the Russian dative case, as “To Alexei Mikhailowichou . . . Selfe Upholder of Moscousekomu, Vlademersckomu, Novogorodskomu,” rather than dropping the dative endings as was customary and writing, “To Alexei Mikhailowich . . . Selfe Upholder of Moscovia, Valdemerye (Volademeria), Novogrodea.” (See Charles II [13–17].) Although the transliteration was different the meaning was unchanged, that being the critical point. The letters that followed, prepared under Secretary of State Sir Joseph Williamson, reverted to the more standard form.

In James II’s first missive to the joint Tsars Ivan and Peter in 1686 he introduced an oddity in his own title. Because the letter concerned Patrick Gordon, a notable Scotsman, James inverted his own title placing Scotland first and writing from the “King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland.” (See James II [1]; Fig. 2.)

Certainly during the fourteenth century, and no doubt earlier, the words “*patri*,” “*flio*,” “*consanguineo*, etc.” were reserved for correspondents related to one another.⁵⁰ At an indeterminate date, however, sometime in the late Middle Ages and carrying through the seventeenth century and beyond it had become customary for Christian rulers to think of themselves as family—brothers and sisters of the same blood, *consanguineus* in Latin, even if there were no consanguinity between them. It is unclear where this idea originated, perhaps in early antiquity. Henry VIII, for example, addressed the Emperor Maximilian in 1512 as his “cousin and most dear brother.” Although they may have been distantly related cousins through the Burgundian line they were most certainly not brothers except in the sense of being at that moment political allies against France. Christian III, King of Denmark wrote to Edward VI on 30 October 1552 as “*Fratri et amico suo charissimo*” (“brother and most beloved friend”).⁵¹ By the end of the sixteenth century, and perhaps earlier, salutations in most royal letters from the courts of Europe reflect this idea of a sister and brotherhood of all Christian rulers under God, a confraternity of Christian monarchs, Protestant and Catholic alike. ‘Christian’ is the operative word. A contemporary record in the East India Company *Register*, for example, at the end of James I’s letter to the King of Bantam in 1604 states: “Note that the Kinge writeth him not brother,” i.e., he was not known to be a Christian.

As a device, the conception of family allowed rulers to speak personally, creating at once a warm familial atmosphere for the reception of their letters. And, perhaps more importantly, it confirmed the human aspect of dynastic succession that necessitated a human body on the throne. However you look at

50 Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages*, p. 105.

51 Cecil, *A Collection of State Papers*, I, 129.



FIGURE 2 James VII to Tsars Ivan V and Peter I, 29 May 1686, RGADA, F. 35, op. 2, no. 13.

it, the idea of a family of monarchs opened the possibility of personal human expression within the parameters of the idea of kingship. In this way Elizabeth could write to Boris Godunov rejoicing on the birth of the first child of the “most virtuous Lady and Empress [Maria, wife of Fyodor, son of Ivan IV] our very loving sister and your Lordship’s most deare and naturall sister” who was “the first apparaunt heyre of that great Monarche of all Russia.”⁵² On the other hand, Elizabeth was careful to address Boris as ‘Cosen’ before he was tsar and while he was still (in English style) master of the horse and comptroller of the household, etc., only addressing him as “dear and loving Brother” after he assumed the title.⁵³ The tsar, in turn, addressed Elizabeth as “Our dear and loving sister Elizabeth.”⁵⁴ In 1625 when Charles I wrote to his “most dear Brother and Friend,” Tsar Michael, he sent condolences for the death of his “most dearly affected Empress and consort Our deere Sister [Maria Dolgoruki]” (Charles I [1]). Needless to say, this usage was not appropriated by Cromwell who opened his letters simply to our “good friend” (*bonus amicus*) or, as in a letter to King Gustavus of Sweden, 27 July 1655, “Most Serene, most Potent King good friend and ally” (*Serenissime Potentissimeque, Rex, Bone Amice et Foederate*).⁵⁵

The myth of the monarchial family continued through the century. I would argue that the device was maintained not simply because it was customary, but more importantly because it was useful. Personnel of pro forma diplomatic missions could negotiate treaties, carry messages, and send congratulation from one ruler to another but spontaneity and direct personal communication could occur only through a letter from the King to his brother or sister. Walter Ong, a modern writer, describes the impact of the authority of the written word as “the experience of personal intimacy, presence, and immediacy in social interactions.”⁵⁶ This was what the brotherhood or family of monarchs was about, particularly in the years when the personal voice of the king or tsar determined the policies that in turn shaped the country.

The use of the familial in writing to the tsars created an odd situation in the case of the Russian Patriarch Filaret. Although the patriarch was the father of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, who was in the familial the brother of James and Charles, the patriarch was addressed by the English as ‘Cousin’ rather than ‘Father’ as he would have been if the blood lines were real. ‘Cousin’ was the polite and personal contemporary salutation to persons who were close to the

52 RGADA, F. 35, op. 2, no. 13, Elizabeth I to Boris Godunov, 27 May 1594.

53 Evans, *OSP*, XII (1965), p. 50.

54 Ibid., p. 67.

55 MS Anglica 521, Riksarchivet, Stockholm.

56 Marotti and Bristol, *Print, Manuscript and Performance*, p. 1.

royal family but did not hold a royal title. With the French and Danish, James, and through him his son, Charles, could claim a legitimate familial relationship, although remote in the case of the French and for James not a bloodline in the case of Denmark. The tradition of the monarchical family was broken under Cromwell who, of course, himself was not part of the family of monarchs either by heredity or title, but the usage was resumed under Charles II as early as September 1649 (see Charles II [1]). A year after his restoration he closed his letter to Tsar Aleksei “wishing our Deere Brother health and prosperity in all your glorious designs” and signing with his own hand “Your most affectionate brother, Charles R.” James II in 1686 and 1687 did likewise.

The closings of the letters reiterate the familial and personal sentiments of the salutations. In the case of those to Russia they often indicated continuing interest in the alliance and the willingness to supply the needs of the tsar, military or otherwise. The closing also provided the English king a place for the largess of his blessings, a space in which to wish the tsar, for example “all health and eternal happiness” with “the protection of Almighty God.” In the closing, continuity could be realized and regular future correspondence promised. Charles could say, for example, that England will “acquaint you Our deare Brother with what may concerne Us and Our frends and allies as occasion shall require” (Charles I [33]). In 1636 Charles confirmed their alliance writing to the tsar that we want not only “to continue but to increase all good intelligence with your Majestie” (Charles I [32]). Here, too, at the end of the letter the King could remind his compatriot of his status within the family of monarchs, referring to his royal palaces and noting his regnal year.

In correspondence with the patriarch, Charles I was almost instructional in echoing Renaissance tracts on the duty of the Prince, saying that “the protection of Strangers in their juste Causes is the Honor of great Princes” and, he added, especially “of those who are most devoutly inclined to compassion” (Charles I [19]).

The chapters following will show the way that art and text were conjoined in the royal letters of the seventeenth-century English kings.

Decoration, Format, Design, and Text

In the seventeenth century why did some rulers and in the case of Russia the patriarch also, receive elaborately designed and painted letters from the English king and others not? Did the decoration relate to the content of the message, that is, to the text of the letter? Was the design richer and more colorful, the gold highlighting more abundant if it enhanced a request for gifts or privileges; or was the design on a letterhead simply secular ornamental decoration, what since the nineteenth century has been labeled decorative art? Was it in recognition of the importance of the title of the recipient, or was the design to consciously reflect the grandeur of the Crown of the sender, to relay a signal of power and opulence? Or was it solely to embellish a letter presented as a familial gift to a brother in the family of Christian monarchy as the salutations would imply?

Decoration

The practice of decorating documents sent to particular heads of state and not others raises a number of questions about the purpose of the limning and its connection with the meaning of the text. The answer to these questions can be found in looking closely at the collection of English royal letters in the Russian archives, described in the Introduction. That collection enables us to examine the art work that decorated the king's correspondence for almost a century and consider the purpose it served in the world of diplomacy and commercial expansion. The letters of the early Stuart period, and particularly those of Charles I from 1631 to 1648, reflect the early modern theory of magnificence best described by the late fifteenth-century Neapolitan humanist Giuniano Maio who was interested in the idea of magnificence and in its effect on the viewer. His reformulation of the Aristotelian idea as "the beautiful appearance of a thing that has been embellished, arousing admiration in the person who sees it" aptly describes both the liming on the letters and the anticipated response from the recipient. Maio attributed that response to "work [that] is well executed and in its sumptuous grandeur."¹

1 Giuniano Maio, *On Majesty*, chap. 19, "On Magnificence". *Cambridge Translations of Renaissance Philosophical Texts*, II, 110–111. See also, Schmitt and Skinner, *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, pp. 424–425.

Long before James ascended the throne in 1603 England had embarked on the building of a vast commercial empire and, in fits and starts, constructing a more modern state to oversee it, much of which would be realized by the end of the seventeenth century. Changes were apparent in the office of the principal secretary of state even before the death of Queen Elizabeth some of which were introduced by Robert Cecil, later first earl of Salisbury, who held that office from June 1596 until his death in 1612. Concerned that there be established rules and regulations for English affairs, Cecil, as Sir Edward Coke had done in his *Fourth Institute* for the law courts and legal offices, wrote a tract entitled "The State and Dignity of a Secretarie of Estates Place with the Care and Peril thereof." Cecil's tract in describing that office was part of the literary genre of the period and perhaps found its inspiration in a similar piece, the "Discourse Touching the Office of Principal Secretary of State, etc." written by Nicholas Faunt in 1592.²

Faunt had served Sir Francis Walsingham when he was secretary to Elizabeth and then became clerk of the signet under James. Faunt's discourse is a practical, detailed description of the type of record and log book to be kept by the administrative clerks. The detail it provides, albeit brief, is precisely what makes this the most important extant explanation of the work of the clerks in the secretary's office. The key to understanding the reason for decorating royal letters lies in Faunt's explanation of the special handling of those places that could grant privileges and immunities from customs and taxes to English merchants. He advised keeping one entry book for treaty records, one for current negotiations, and another "touching the intercourse with Denmark, Sweden, Muscovia and Russia, Turkey, Barbury, and the Levant, and especially the Hanse towns, that insist so much upon ancient privileges and immunities." Faunt's list of places able to negotiate these customs and taxes corresponds to a great degree with the list of places to receive limned letters named in the royal patent to Edward Norgate. (The story of Norgate's credentials and work will be found in Chapter 4.) In other words, decorated letters were sent only to countries that gave trading privileges and where customs and taxes on imports could be negotiated. (Coincidentally, several were countries that did not use a Latin alphabet.) James's earlier marriage to Anne of Denmark had already resolved the matter of Sound tolls by the time James had succeeded to the English throne.

Through the decorated letters, the royal emblems, and the titles and closings the English king represented himself to Eastern rulers. The decoration, magnificent in itself, "well executed" and heavily gilded, was meant to show

2 Faunt's tract is printed in *EHR* 20 (1905), pp. 499–508. Regarding Cecil's tract, see *CSPD* 1623–1625, p. 546.

the magnificence of the sender and thereby to acknowledge the importance of the receiver in the world of Renaissance diplomacy where tsars, emperors, potentates, and kings were social equals. Moreover, the designs represented not only the person and voice of the king but also the Crown and government through the incorporation of the arms and symbols of the monarchy within the ornamentation. The limning was to frame the king's words, to draw the eyes of the recipient to the message and, most importantly, in Maio's words to "arouse admiration" in the ruler who saw it. In short, decoration was meant to impress and was contrived to bring results. And often (but not always) it did! Following the decorated letter to the patriarch in June 1620, privileges were renewed for the Muscovy Company. Throughout the 1630s when the king sought to buy grain from Russia in a market already cornered by the Dutch we see a new intricacy and quality of limning on the letters which resulted, at least at the outset, in a grain deal for England. The usefulness of the decoration suggests that it was not simply 'ornamentation' which, to the art historian can mean "by implication useless," but, as we have said, it was design with a purpose.³

The king and the principal secretary of state drafted the letters. The artwork, subject to the approval of the king and secretary, was in the hands of the limner. It was his genius to combine the designs of French and Italian renaissance pattern books with the heraldic colors and symbols reminiscent of English medieval ceremonies and tournaments. The letters, as do other decorative arts of the period, reflect the melding of European devices with English motifs and symbols of state, underscoring the growing British fascination with the wider world of architectural decoration and ornamentation. By the seventeenth century a kind of universality of design had emerged in the West that drew on patterns from Turkey and the East, transmitted by merchants to Spain and Portugal and then carried northward in trade. There, these eastern designs were integrated with topographical and architectural patterns from Rome and Venice, floral motifs brought from India on East India Company ships, and Netherlandish designs that came from the world of printers in Antwerp.⁴

Of all of the new influences on the world of design in the beginning of the early modern period, however, the most influential was that of the discovery of Nero's *Domus Aurea* in the fifteenth century. It had an impact on all of the arts of the late fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries and not surpris-

3 Snowdin and Howard, *Ornament*, p. 9.

4 See *Design & the Decorative Arts*, ed. Snodin and Stiles; Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan England*; *Dutch Tiles in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, ed. Ella Schaap et al. (Philadelphia, 1984); *Museu Nacional Do Azulejo. Guide*, trans. Richard Trewinnard, *Instituto Português Museus* (Lisbon, 2006).

ingly, designs echoing elements that were found there appear in the English letters. Neronian motifs had quickly made their way north through the work of engravers like Marcantonio Raimondi (1480–1534) and his pupil Augustino Veneziano (1490–c.1540) who produced collections of designs and ornamentation that were wildly popular and became pattern books for artisans of various types.⁵ A little later the Frenchmen (Jacques) Androuet du Cerceau (1510–1584) and Etienne Delaune (1518–1583) introduced grotesque design to France.⁶ Across the channel in England there had already developed a growing interest in the form that dovetailed with the new passion for things Roman and of classical antiquity. The prints of Hans Vredeman de Vries from Antwerp (c. 1526–1604) quickly became the source for ceiling and wall painting in England and Scotland.⁷ Although the designs in the royal letters do not replicate particular grotesque figures, those limned by Edward Norgate often include interlacing arabesque designs, cartouches, putti, and acanthus leaf scrollworks that are similar to Neronian archetypes, particularly in those letters of the late 1630s (Charles I [35, 37, 38–40, 43]). It is not surprising to find these, however, remembering that Norgate had visited Italy in 1621 and 1622 and according to his own words saw the Italian arabesques of Giovanni da Udine, Raphael's pupil, in the Palazzo de Gigi.⁸ What he borrowed for the royal letters was primarily the ornamentation.

It was a natural borrowing, for it is clear, as Alessandra Zamperini tells us in her book on the transmission of the grotesque, that it caught on quickly and became the rage of the art world in part because it was a flexible system of design that “favored contamination” from other iconographies. “Coats of arms, cartouches, emblems, *imprese*, and heraldic devices were among the parallel systems that were best able to imbue the repertoire of the grotesque.”⁹ Elements of the style, later labeled Mannerism, were replicated in the castles and manor houses of the aristocracy of Europe. It was embraced by the Hapsburgs, Medici, Farnese, Montmorency, and even the Tudors, although on a lesser scale.¹⁰ Zamperini explains that because of its flexibility in being

5 *The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi*, ed. Oberhuber.

6 Jacques Androuet dit du Cerceau, 62 *Petites Arabesques héliogravure par Edouard Baldus* (Paris, 1884). A description of Roman arabesque is included in Benvenuto Cellini's *Autobiography*, Bk. XXXI.

7 Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Grottesco: in diversche manieren* (Antwerp, 1565–1571).

8 Norgate, *Miniatura* (1997), p. 102 and 197 n. 258. See also Zamperini, *Ornament and the Grotesque*, chapter 4, Raphael and the Golden Age, pp. 121–134.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 154–155.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 158–159.

able to incorporate family emblems the grotesque “proved remarkably versatile whenever there was an overwhelming desire to perpetuate in art the glory of a family or to underline prestigious family ties, ambitions of supremacy or dynastic claims.” In this sense the design system was perfect for royal letters.

As distinct from the routine correspondence of state, royal letters were exchanged less frequently. In these exchanges the text was the *raison d'être* of the letter, the decoration the visual validation of the sender. Through both the style of the monarchical titles and the artwork described below, the decorated royal letter became in itself an illustration of the distinction between the king and the State or Crown, the person and the office. This is apparent in the strict use of state symbols in the design. They are absent in Charles I's letter preceding his coronation (Charles I [1]) and are included in the letters after the coronation when he assumes the Crown and with it the supreme governance of the state; so, too, with the letters of Charles II, before his English coronation and after.

That we have these letters today, aside from the loving care bestowed over centuries by museum directors and dedicated archivists, is due to the fact that they were written on parchment, the material, as Pliny says, “on which the immortality of human beings depends.”¹¹ The royal letters, without exception, were inscribed on parchment or vellum, terms often interchanged but, in fact, meaning somewhat different things. Vellum, the skin from young sometimes stillborn animals was much finer in quality and appearance than older skin and was often saved for the most important documents. Nicholas Hilliard in his treatise on limning wrote that for fine work the best material was “virgin parchment,” that is “such as never bore haire . . . some calle it vellym, some *abortive* derived from *abhortive* for untimely birth.”¹² The smoothness of the vellum allowed the scribe to write more fluidly without his pen running into the bumps and abrasions of the courser aged skin. For the illuminator or limner it meant a smoother painting surface and, apparently, being less porous, facilitated a better preservation of the original colors, something early printing was unable to reproduce.¹³ Saxl Hedwig in his history of parchment noted that the parchments of early portrait miniatures were “tissue-thin, translucent, and exceedingly fine grained.”¹⁴ Other authors provide recipes for making parchment “as though it were glass” in preparation “for tracing decorated

11 Pliny, *Natural History*, Bk. XIII.

12 Hilliard, *A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning . . . with, A More Compendious Discourse Concerning ye Art of Liming [sic] by Edward Norgate*, ed. R.K.R. Thornton and T.G.S. Cain, pp. 94, 96.

13 Waitting, *The Story of Alphabets and Scripts*, p. 81.

14 Cited in Norgate, *Miniatura* (1997), p. 133 n. 63.

capitals." Apparently the degree to which the skin was stretched was as important as the recipes—rotten egg whites, gum Arabic, fish glue, etc.—for soaking.¹⁵ Translucent vellum was prized for certain techniques of limning. It required no ground and was often used by Norgate for his more intricate designs. Large folio-sized pieces of vellum or parchment were standard for most of the decorated royal letters prepared for foreign rulers known to English kings. What was sent to China and Japan in the beginning of the century, when even the names of the emperors were sometimes not known in London, was smaller with less elaborate decoration (Fig. 1a).

Although in a limited way the decorations of the early seventeenth-century royal letters had their antecedents in medieval manuscript and book design, in terms of how they were made, what we would call the process of production, they broke completely with the past. From the twelfth century there had begun to be a differentiation within those trades between the illuminator and the scrivener, the artist and the professional scribe or, in modern idiom, the illustrator and the author, a separation that continues, for obvious reasons, to the present time. Books and manuscript literary text, however, were created for a wider readership than were royal letters and were often produced in multiple copies. The royal letters in question were executed singly for a private and royal recipient with only one undecorated draft or copy kept for the government's record. In the seventeenth century the writing and painting of the letters became by royal patent the responsibility of one man. Over the century we are concerned with only four men known to have been responsible for the creation of the king's letters: Nicholas Hilliard and Edward Norgate, in the early part of the century, and George Tomlin and Gideon Royer in the latter part (see Chapter 4). In assigning the tasks of both limning and inscribing to a single individual legally bound by royal patent the requisite privacy demanded for the execution of a royal letter was guaranteed. It precluded the letters being exposed to the public through the careless words or pen of a professional scrivener hired to inscribe the letter in a fair hand. Problems involved with the Scriveners (and "painters") publicizing the king's words apparently had occurred under Charles I, as explained in Edward Norgate's patent.

Even so, some materials and techniques of the letter limners were adopted from the early illuminators of France and Italy. Those medieval manuscript painters, who also worked on parchment, produced recipes for pigments from minerals and plants that were used in later centuries for illustrations and miniature portraits.¹⁶ Their methods of ruling and sequencing of design were altered to fit the format devised for royal letters. While the early modern

15 Reed, *Nature and Making of Parchment*.

16 See Clarke, *The Art of all Colours*; Murrell, *The Way Howe to Lymne*, pp. 66–73.

limners relied on some older traditions, however, they were at the same time benefitting from the greater accessibility of prints and wood blocks for laying out the design and putting in the emblems of state necessary to every royal letter. It has been said for decoration as early as the fifteenth century that “the repetitive nature of much heraldic work made it an obvious area for prints to replace hand-drawn illuminations.”¹⁷

Format

English royal letters, with few exceptions, follow a similar stylized format from 1603 until 1647, after which there were no decorated letters until the Restoration, with the exception of Charles II’s letter to the tsar in 1649 (Charles II [1]). The format is not new to the seventeenth century but it may be said that it came into its own at that time. The earliest example of a similar design, in this case a decorated letter patent conveying property to Thomas Forster illuminated by Lucas Horenbout, is from 1554.¹⁸ By 1603 the design was standardized to consist of a painted device that frames the text, including the decorated initial and first line of the title, on three sides. Although a distinct form, and in regular use in the seventeenth century, as visible from all of the figures in this book, there is apparently no term for this three-sided configuration.

A modern theorist explains the visually obvious by stating that “the frame adorns a painting because it isolates it,” and thus “commends it to our attention.” By being set apart the image then becomes “something exceptionally worthy of our attention.”¹⁹ It is plausible to think that the ornamentation on the letters framed the writing in order to draw the immediate attention of the recipient to the message in the text. It, in fact, enhanced the physical text.

At the time of the Restoration decoration was reinstated. The format of the letters was altered then, however, by the enlargement of the initial of the king’s name in the first line of the text and the relocation of it into the upper left hand corner as the dominant feature of the letter. The left hand border now became wider than the right, approximately half of the width of the size of the block surrounding the initial letter. (See all of the letters of Charles II.) In short, the

17 Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 29.

18 The document is printed in Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and their Makers*, pp. 120–121. Erna Auerbach attributes the “liberating” of the miniature from the manuscript page to Horenbout. “An Elizabethan Illuminated Indenture,” *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 93, no. 583 (October 1951), p. 323.

19 Karl Phillip Moritz, cited in Frank, ed, *The Theory of Decorative Art*, p. 259.

initial letter, now standing on its own, divided and separated the decorated top and side borders, thus destroying the unity of the frame but at the same time drawing the reader's eye to focus first on the king's name rather than on the decorated border (Fig. 3).



FIGURE 3 Charles II to Tsar Aleksei, 20 September 1667, RGADA, F. 35, op. 2, 101.

Design

In the early part of the seventeenth century the first step toward creating a design on either parchment or vellum was the demarcation of the border, sometimes in red, oftentimes on translucent vellum with a painted lineal pattern of dots and dashes, and sometimes in graphite that was later (after the text was entered) erased, permitting the border design an appearance of freedom without parameters (Charles I [40 & 41]). In these cases sometimes remnants of the pencil lines are still visible here and there.

After the demarcation, the design was lightly sketched on the parchment. The anonymous limner who wrote in 1596 begins with a paragraph on the order of drawing or tracing. He instructs the artist to begin with a black lead pencil or a piece of coal and trace the letters of a name or title onto the parchment and “set the vinets [vignettes] and flowers and thy imagery.” And then, with a small pen draw them all in ink.²⁰ After the Restoration the area for the text must generally have been ruled off in pencil, the block holding the king’s initial and the first line of the king’s title printed and limned, and then the ruled lines redone in red. On the letter of Charles II of 2 June 1663, for example, the ruled red lines are visible over the black letters of the first line of the text and the palm fronds decorating the state emblems on the top border. Whatever the sequence, however, the space for the text had to be delineated before the limning could begin.

The area to be limned in some early examples was covered with gesso, a chalk like preparation used in icon painting and sometimes in the preparation of canvas for oil paint. On top of the gesso might be laid a ground that was an even coat of flat, un-highlighted color. In the case that gesso was not used, the ground was laid directly onto the parchment. Generally the ground was light enough that further decoration (opaque in itself) was painted on top of it rather than in spaces having been left open when the ground was laid. The exceptions to the light color were the very deep blue ground used in the letter of James I to Patriarch Filaret (James I [9]; Fig. 4) decorated with silver and gold scrollwork; the now faded but once crimson grounds decorated with gold pigments (as opposed to gold leaf) (Charles I [8], [10]); and the black ground decorated with white stippling and scrollwork in gold pigment (Charles I [3]). Obviously gold and silver could easily be applied over a dark ground and the results were always striking. In each case, the artist tells us, it was necessary that the brushes used for silver and gold work be reserved for that purpose and not mixed with other colors.²¹ From Cennino Cennini in 1439 to Norgate

20 *A very proper treatise*, p. 2.

21 Beinecke MSS Gen. Vol. 92, f. 7. (This is an incomplete copy of the manuscript *Miniatura*.)

in the seventeenth century there are hundreds of recipes for a sizing to adhere gold leaf and gold pigment to parchment or vellum as well as formulas for both gold shell and gold leaf pigment. Each limner had his favorite. Norgate himself, imbued with the seventeenth-century English enthusiasm for Italy and, as mentioned earlier, had been there on business in the early 1620s when he also visited the Vatican and saw manuscripts embellished in gold and silver, remarking later in his book, *Miniatura*, on the “Curious gold worke to which the Italians are soe affected.”²² It was popular, too, in England and by 1619 limners could purchase gold leaf that was no longer imported but manufactured in England by the Company of Goldbeaters.²³ Silver applied as silver leaf was exceedingly rare because it was known to tarnish and blacken over time.²⁴ The last decorated letters in the Russian collection that were limned on a ground were from 1631 and 1632 (Charles I [19, 30]). All of them after 1632 until the death of Charles I were limned on high quality, very thin, translucent vellum which, if we listen to contemporaries like Norgate, may be why the colors on them are often still vibrant.

Colors were important and gave life to the ornamentation. The primary colors that predominate in the scrollwork of French Books of Hours from the fifteenth century could have served as the inspiration for the letters of James I sent in 1618 and 1622.²⁵ When applying them the 1596 anonymous treatise writer admonished that “all colors to lime or to write withal should never be tempered with any kind of oyle.”²⁶ In fact, the polychromatic paints used on parchment were water rather than oil based. Red, yellow, blue and the non-primary green, predominate in the scrollwork that is laid on ground often stippled. Under Charles I we see a transition to more gold scrollwork where colors were minimized and often relegated solely to emblems and coats of arms. Sometimes freehand ribbons borrowed from earlier Italian design and drawn in red and blue ink were used in conjunction with the gold or on their own to fill in the white spaces around the emblems. They can be seen in earlier Elizabethan work but apparently then fell into disuse until the Caroline period (Charles I [30]; Charles II [18–25]). The use of the ribbons together with

22 Norgate, *Miniatura* (1997), p. 104.

23 Borg, *Painters*, p. 57.

24 Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, p. 33; Norgate, *Miniatura* (1997), p. 153 n. 131.

25 Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 39, 96–97, 108; De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators*, p. 47; Clemens & Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, pp. 210–211.

26 *A very proper treatise*, p. 7.

scrollwork is visible as early as 1632 (Charles I [27]) and later can be seen in the letters of Charles II [18, 20, 21] and James II [1 & 2].

The borders on some letters omitted color altogether and were elegantly decorated solely with gold scrollwork that underscored royalty and suggested richness in intricate and fine artistic detail. What I have described earlier as a set or form letterhead (James I [1–5]) is a simple scrollwork pattern executed in gold pigment (ochre and saffron to resemble the color gold but not able to be burnished as is gold leaf) with dark blue dots within the scrolls and on the bells or droplets at the end of the border. The several documents bearing this configuration are exactly alike but were done over a period of years from 1612 to 1616. I suspect the scrolls were made from tracing the pattern onto the vellum either with translucent paper (called *carta lustra* and often not paper at all but thin parchment from a young goat) or through a stencil or template.²⁷ In either case a fine brush was essential to render the design in gold, and one not “stuffed with stragling haire.” In order to eradicate the “stragling haire” or fly-aways, Norgate recommended passing the brush through a candle flame before beginning.²⁸ If gold leaf had ever been part of the design on these letters, it has virtually disappeared.

The more intricate and elaborate scrollwork on the letters of the 1630's may have been achieved from woodcuts. The technique for using individual stamped woodcuts to make borders and decorate title pages had already been devised by the early sixteenth century for books. The woodcuts were of varying size and carried arabesque designs or patterns of acanthus leaves or styled vines entwined with emblems and lozenges that could be repeated any number of times depending on the length of the border. The designs were then decorated by the limner or miniaturist.²⁹ These woodcuts were a specialty of Venice and can be traced to Venetian books of patterns from the Near East popular with engravers and painters as well as weavers and embroiderers.³⁰ The great advantage to the system was that the blocks were reusable. And they were reused! In many instances, however, the left and right borders are so symmetrical that they even point in the same direction, left or right. In other words, the designs are from the same block or stencil which was not reversed on one side or turned upside down in order to face the other and create a true frame for the text (Charles I [12], [14]).

27 De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators*, p. 62.

28 Norgate, *Miniatura* (1997), p. 66.

29 Lilian Armstrong, “The Hand-Illumination of Printed Books in Italy 1465–1515” in Alexander, *Painted Page*, p. 37.

30 Geoffrey Ashall Glaister, *An Encyclopedia of the Book* (New York, 1960).

Designs of various sorts abound in the letters. James's letter to Patriarch Filaret in 1620, at the center within the top border, displays a handshake within a heart held by a sea lion and sea horse in a kind of pastiche of the royal coat of arms supported by the English lion and the Scottish unicorn (James I [28]; Fig. 4).

It is a visual description of the king's message to the tsar desiring amity and friendship between countries across land and sea. Henry Peacham, in *Minerva Britanna*, identifies the handshake as from a Roman coin and writes that "This symbol gave, their peace about to make, That as their hands, in one their hearts should join."³¹

The letters of 1629 (Charles I [6], [7]) are the first to include winged cherubs in the design. In others there are many variations of flora and fauna woven into the scrollwork that were borrowed and refashioned from the general world of renaissance decorative art and the grotesque that are not without humor. As we see, a common flower now visible on a seventeenth-century Portuguese tile, perhaps a design from Antwerp or maybe by way of Seville, became a comical sea monster in Norgate's hands decorating a letter to the patriarch in 1632 (Charles I [24]; Fig. 5).³² Dolphins and other sea creatures appear more regularly after 1631 and they are often the same forms that were also adapted for use on pottery, vases, plates, and other works of decorative art. (Charles I [20–22], [31], [33], [41], [43]).

Lions, of course, are part of the English royal coat of arms but they took on a life of their own in the hands of the limner. They appear in a sequence of letters from the 1630s. The first is from Charles to the tsar in 1632 where two rather whimsical lions sit astride stems and branches of the decorative leaf and vine scrolls on the left and right sides of the parchment (Fig. 6). The inspiration for the letters could only have come from Giambattista Della Porta's book, *Of Human Physiognomy* (Turin, 1586). There, expanding on Aristotelian ideas he links physical appearance with personality traits and character. The book was of particular interest to doctors and artists and may have been introduced to Norgate by Theodore de Mayerne, physician to Prince Henry, James, and Charles, who knew Della Porta's work. It was at Mayerne's request that Norgate wrote his account of limning, compiling his recipes for paints and varnishes as

³¹ Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, II, 135.

³² The design is c. 1640–1650 from the former *Convento de Nossa Senhora da Esperança*. See the Guide Book to the *Museum Nacional Do Azulejo*, p. 67. There are many other images of this stylized single stem flower but this one is particularly clear.



FIGURE 4 4a. James I to Patriarch Filaret, 24 June 1620, RGADA, F. 35: op. 2, no. 28; 4b. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannia*, pt. 2, p. 135.



FIGURE 5 Charles I to Patriarch Filaret, 20 January 1631/32, RGADA, F. 35, op. 2, no. 55.

well as instructional notes on artistic technique.³³ The lion-like human face in Della Porta's example is meant to convey by the forehead, eyes, nose, and hair the strength and power of a lion. Norgate's lions have similar faces (Figs. 6 & 8). Those on the letters are not the stylized rampant creatures of heraldry with extended tongues and ragged manes but are almost whimsical with their smiling faces, limbs, and hands with opposing thumbs. And the very posture of the creatures evokes a chuckle. Norgate has further underscored the idea of their strength and power by encircling their privates (*honteuses*) wherein, as Della Porta relates, consisted the strength of men. The design is almost universal by the seventeenth century. It is replicated in a letter of the same day to the patriarch (Charles I [28, 29]). The lion on the left of these two letters appears again in the vines of a letter of 1636 (Charles I [35]) that also depicts crouching lions as part of the pattern. In the documents of Charles II the initial 'C' generally encircles an emblem of state such as the English lion holding a shield emblazoned with the coat of arms, or the English rose or another flower. The letter of 30 June 1678, however, displays a rather comical seated unicorn waving his tail without any additional adornments of state.

The designs of flora and fauna, as part of decorative schemes, had their origins in printed books and engravings. Insects and birds of the sort that appear on royal letters were used as border ornaments certainly as early as the fifteenth century in the southern Netherlands.³⁴ The examples of "decorative borders strewn with flowers" in many Books of Hours provide the inspiration for some of the letters. The modern art historian James Marrow notes that fifteenth century Flemish illuminators particularly specialized in border designs "composed of meticulously crafted representations of fruits and flowers." They also, he tells us, "frequently indulged their illusionistic virtuosity by the conceit of painting insects on the page."³⁵ The style of decorating with disparate, unconnected flowers, insects, and birds can be seen, albeit in a more crowded display, in the letter of James I of 1623 to the tsar (James I [12]; Fig. 7). More particularly these elements decorate the unique letter of Charles I in 1632 that is limned with botanical specimens and fruits painted on an ochre ground with two small framed landscapes as roundels in the upper left and right hand corners (frontispiece). The border decorations borrowed from an earlier time were by the seventeenth century more sophisticated and detailed than the ear-

33 See Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, pp. 54, 343–344. Apparently Mayerne (ktd. 1624) used particularly Della Porta's *Magic Naturalis*. The recipes that Norgate gave Mayerne are in his notes, BL, Sloane 2052.40.

34 Fisher, *Flowers in Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 17.

35 Marrow, *Pictorial Invention in Netherlandish Manuscript Illumination*, p. 9.

lier models not only because of the availability of materials from which to copy motifs but also because the quality of prints and book illustrations from which they were taken had radically improved during the sixteenth century.

The designs in the royal letters were an amalgamation from many collections. We can identify the works of printers and engravers that were without question familiar to Norgate and others but can go no further than to say that they offered an inspiration, an idea, but not an exact form. It was the ingenuity of the limner that refashioned them. A case in point is the example of the lion in the vine mentioned above. It is similar, for example, to the decoration on the proscenium arch designed by Inigo Jones for the court masque *Chloridia* (Fig. 6).³⁶

Animals intertwined in scrollwork were also popular in architectural friezes. Another source of design may have been *A Booke of Flowers, Fruicts, Beastes*, engraved by Francis Delaram who worked between 1615 and 1624 and whose book of engravings went through several editions in the course of the century. His small insects appear often in letters, drawings, and embroidery, but in our case they are similar not identical. Thomas Geminus's designs for Moresque ornament (c. 1548) were primarily set out for embroiderers and goldsmiths but one see similarities in them with the motifs on the borders of royal letters.³⁷ Benedetto Battini's plates of cartouches, published in Antwerp in 1553, combined elements from the grotesque with a strapwork frame. Prints and plates from Holland and Germany were popular in England like the collections, for example, of Hans Vredeman de Vries, mentioned above, and that of Theodore de Bry (1528–1598). De Bry, an engraver and goldsmith born in Lüttich who traveled to England and in the 1590s became famous for his engravings of native Americans published a popular book of alphabets known to have been used by text writers.³⁸ Crispin de Pass, born in Zealand in 1564, worked for various publishers in Antwerp producing floral engravings popular in the early seventeenth century.³⁹ Wendel Dietterlin's collection of architectural plates printed in its final edition in 1598 includes motifs from the grotesque as well as almost every sort of cartouche possible.⁴⁰ There were many others whose work would

36 See Orel and Stong, *Inigo Jones*, II, 423.

37 Geminus, *Morysse and Damashin* (London, 1548).

38 Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Artis perspectivae plurium generum elegantissimae formulae* . . . (Antwerp, 1568?); *Variae architecturae formae* . . . (Antwerp, 1601). For a fuller discussion of the influence of prints, see Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration*; De Bry, *Alphabeten und aller art Characteren*.

39 De Pass, *Floregium*.

40 Dietterlin, *Architectura: Von Ausstheilung, Symmetria und Proportion*.



FIGURE 6 6a–b. Charles I to Tsar Michael, 25 March 1637, RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 71; 6c. Renaissance frieze, Germany (unidentified). Clara Schmidt, *Renaissance Ornaments* (L'Aventurine, Lyon, 2007).

have been known to English limners in general and to Norgate in particular. Their names are easily discoverable in secondary literature and in the catalogs of book and print sellers.⁴¹

Given Norgate's connections with the Netherlands through William Trumbull, his travels in Italy, and his part in the art world of London we can be assured that designs in books and collections of prints were only a small part of his source of inspiration. In his everyday world of court and courtiers he was surrounded by design in the architecture of manor houses, the woodwork, plaster, and tile work of interiors, and the patterns embroidered on fabric, engraved into silver, and painted on pottery and tin-glazed earthenware made in London by the end of the sixteenth century.⁴²

It should come as no surprise that the letters from 1632 to 1646 portray most vividly the grotesque and are the finest examples of English decorated letters that exist. These documents were written at the height of Charles I's fascination with classical antiquity and signed from "our imperiall cittie of London." The most finely done, exquisitely detailed work is from the middle of the decade of the thirties. See, for example, the letter of 7 March 1637 to the tsar (Fig. 9). It was clearly meant to impress, and closes with an earnest desire that we "continue and advance more and more the amity and good correspondence betwixt our crowns and kingdoms" (Charles I [34]). Several other letters follow that have similar Italianate borders (Charles I [38, 39, and 43]). On an earlier letter of August 1632 Roman helmets and shields are the motifs, following the production of *Albion's Triumph* on 5 January the same year wherein Charles, costumed as an emperor, played Albanactus (Charles I [30]; Fig. 9). Norgate was certainly familiar with court thought and entertainment. He may also either have been familiar with designs used on earlier parchments or was working perhaps with pattern books used by Isaac Oliver and Nicholas Hilliard. (See Chapter 4.) For on the patent of 4 June 1611 creating the young Henry, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, and known to have been limned by Isaac Oliver, is the image of a drum similar to what appears on the letter of Charles I [30].⁴³ The decoration around the initial 'E' in the Mildmay charter limned in 1584 by Hilliard includes grotesque motifs similar to some of the vases and faces later painted by Norgate.⁴⁴

41 See *src*; Wing; and Globe, *Peter Stent*.

42 See Snodin and Style, eds., *Design & the Decorative Arts*, p. 33 and plate 35.

43 BL Add. 36932.

44 Murrell, *The Way Howe to Lymne*, plate 42, detail from the Mildmay Charter, 1584, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

All of this decoration and design comes to an end with the disestablishment of the royal court in 1649, and so, too, is there a decline in the delicate brush work of the limner. The Restoration brings to the royal letter the more regular use of engraved plates and the King's initial printed on a rolling press. The emblems of state and even the floral sprays decorating and surrounding them become larger and more repetitious in the years after 1660, although the repertory of state emblems remained small and endlessly repeated. Even the colors do not vary. Compared to the Italianate designs of the late 1630s and early 1640s the work of the 1660s seems clumsy and heavy with less attention given to overall detail and presentation. In at least two cases we find that the limner (or printer) forgot to color the design (Charles II [6 & 8]; Fig. 11). But even when the coloring was correctly done the rolling press could not replicate the intricate hand work of the limner.

Throughout the century, the royal letters and emblems of state decorating them were the voice and visual representation of the dignity and authority of the English king and Crown. The emblems took on special, or perhaps symbolic, meaning only in what one might call 'the Imperial Period' of Charles I (c. 1630–1646). This in itself does not make the ornamentation on the letters of the years of personal rule a 'pictorial enigma,' to use Michael Bath's term, but simply underscores the mythologies of the politics of personal rule.⁴⁵ It remains that the patterns of scrollwork and the flora and fauna between the emblems of state are pure ornamentation or decorative art. In her book on the theory of 'applied' or 'decorative' arts Isabelle Frank admits to the difficulty of finding a definition for these arts and concludes that the best way to put it is that they are "those arts which were made to serve a practical purpose but are nevertheless prized for the quality of their workmanship and the beauty of their appearance." In our case, the intricately detailed artwork enhanced the text or message of the letter and in so doing served the Crown.

Text

A document is defined by the nature of its text. It is preserved as a record because of what it says. The shape it takes and how it looks often depends on its point of origin. Letters Patent and special Commissions are rolls filed in Chancery; receipts and payments for government business can be found in ledger books in one or another of the Treasury offices, and so forth. Royal letters, as we have said, were the business of the king and his Household.

45 Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 4; and see chapter 1.

Within the literature on writing, orality, and documents is the idea of what a modern scholar has called “chirography and presence.” In it, he says, is the creation of “an intimate and interactive bond between writer and reader.”⁴⁶ Although the royal letter was not what the writer had in mind when he coined that phrase, the personal aspect of the letter is directed to the idea of an interactive and intimate bond between writer and reader. And in addition, as another scholar has put it, that “despite the apparently private nature of much of this correspondence, it was an active political instrument.”⁴⁷ The texts of the royal letters, as we have said, were drafted by the secretaries of state in consultation with the king. The messages were unique although the titles, salutations and, to a lesser extent, the closings, were composed to a formula following the medieval pattern of salutation or opening; *exordium* or preamble; *narration*, the narration of all the particulars of the matter at hand; and then the point of the letter as the *petition* or request; and finally the *conclusio* or conclusion that explained briefly the positive results that granting the letter would produce or, in rare instances, the consequences that might occur if the request were turned down. There was no paragraphing in the letter. The petition or request was on occasion misunderstood by the Russians. A.L. Odrin-Nasholin, a foreign minister to Tsar Aleksei wrote to him saying “We also find it strange why they send us often letters from the English king with supplications for private people as if our king is not taking enough care of Russians as well as foreigners.”⁴⁸

Once agreed to, the text was copied onto the already limned document. In the early years of James’s reign that copying might have been accomplished by a member of the Stationer’s Guild, a clerk of chancery, or even a limner. There is, for example, a manuscript “Coppie-booke of the usuall hands written,” that is an exemplar containing several alphabets of decorated initial letters, as well as several forms of lower case letters to be sold at the author’s house in Fetter Lane. The book was dedicated by the author, Richard Gething, to Sir Francis Bacon then chancellor to Henry, Prince of Wales, because, Gething said, that position drew him into “the rank of publique government . . . for forraigne as well as inward services.” Gething was advertising his alphabets and scrivener’s skills with the hope that the Prince, with Bacon’s help, might send beautifully written letters and thus “make known even unto remote distances

46 Marotte and Bristol eds., *Print, Manuscript and Performance*, p. 2.

47 Olga Dmitrieva in *Britannia & Muscovy*, p. 19.

48 Cited in D.A. Kolchugin, “The Art of Power,” unpublished paper, University of Moscow, n.d. p. 8.

what excellencies are with us in perfection.”⁴⁹ Apparently George Tomlin (see Chapter 4) was a student of Gething. Other books on handwriting proliferated during the century as writing masters taught the clerks clarity and legibility for handling the documents of a growing bureaucratic state.

On all of the documents the design of the decorated initial of the king was both calligraphic and decorative. It evolved from the customary illuminated initial at the start of the verse or chapter in manuscripts and early books and on English charters and by the end of the fifteenth century emerged as the cadel or patterned capital widely used in western Europe for letters and charters. Examples are legion. One can see the enthroned queen in the often reproduced printed initial ‘E’ of the charter for the English Painter- Stainers drafted in 1581.⁵⁰ In the late middle ages when it was known that embellishment was to be added to a document, space was left for the limner at the top and around the initial letter of the sovereign, following the practice of book makers. As early as the fourteenth century, chancery clerks had begun elaborating the initial letter of the king and the first letters of his title with calligraphic designs. Elizabeth Danbury, a historian of Chancery documents, tells us that this decorative writing was “invariably the work of the clerk who wrote the text,” the ink and the general style following that of the main text.⁵¹ Later, clerks abandoned that work and left the design of the letters to the artists who introduced alphabets decorated with elaborate interlaced pen strokes, sometimes referred to as ‘strapwork’ for the embellishment of the initials of the king or queen and the first letters of the text following the name. This practice continued well into the Stuart period insuring that, in Danbury’s words, “the entire appearance of decorated charters and letters patent were to a considerable extent dictated by strapwork.”⁵² This is most evident in the later Elizabethan legal rolls and in the initials in the opening of royal correspondence.

On the early Jacobean designs (Figs. 1a & b) it would seem that the initial or versal ‘T’ for ‘James’ was done with a stencil or template as it is identical on all of the documents (James I [1–5,7]). The initial was sometimes drawn in a defined block in the upper left hand corner within the border, and sometimes without an outlined block. The styled initials are often similar with two or three variations on the same theme. In many instances they are used by the limner as the vehicle for holding some emblem of state or decorative flower. This was

49 Gething, *A Coppie-booke of the usaall [sic] hands*. Collection of the Elizabethan Club, Yale University.

50 Borg, *Painters*, p. 32.

51 Danbury, “Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England,” p. 163.

52 Ibid.

particularly true in the case of 'C' for Charles I and II, a letter that lends itself to such design. The decoration of the uncials, or large capital letters, on the first line of the king's title (e.g., "James I, By the Grace of God, King of England, and Defender of the Faith") varies, sometimes "by the" is decorated, other times just "by." The initial of the King's name and the subsequent words were often put on a colored ground sometimes embellished in gold, sometimes in a pattern of diagonal lines to form small diamonds that were in turn decorated with fleurs-de-lis or painted with tiny scrollwork.

The text was written in a very straight line left to right inside the border in clear, italic hand and brown, sometimes almost black, ink. Proper names and sometimes words in titles were embellished in gold. Sometimes there are no visible ruled lines that might have guided the scribe, although most often it is likely that light graphite lines were ruled and later erased, sometimes incompletely. Occasionally remnants of them remain. Apparently a ruler was not written against to guarantee a straight line as the descenders move gracefully below the line without interruption or break. In 1616 an anonymous author claimed the invention of *linage* and *fortage* and was granted a crown license and privilege of use as the sole inventor.⁵³ *Linage* as explained in the author's *Orthographiall Declaration* was "an art to rule paper, parchment, and writing bookes . . . with all manner of lines in any color or distance." *Fortage* was "an art to strengthen, fortife, and amend all weak and spundeous paper, the better to beare inke." The pamphlet describing the device advertised that papers and parchments ruled by *linage* could be purchased at the stationers shops at St. Paul's and King's Bench. The procedures or 'devices' are nowhere, however, adequately explained. We might imagine that this process insured a space in which to write that would provide room for both ascending and descending letters. Such a device (some sort of parallel bars that would provide for writing in the space between them) seems likely. Our modern concept of writing *on* the line was a late development. In medieval texts the writing is generally between the ruled lines rather than on them.⁵⁴

The alphabet letters used by the writing clerks came from manuals of handwriting that included various styles of upper and lower case letters, printed and cursive. The early manuals were compiled for the cutters of printers' type. Wolffgang Fugger's manual for handwriting, first printed in Nuremberg in 1553,

53 Knowledge of this invention comes from the anonymous author's book, *Orthographiall Declaration: containing a brief advertisement of two new inventions called Lineage and Fortage* (London, 1616), STC 2183. I was unable to find a patent for this invention.

54 There are numerous examples. See De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators*, pp. 26, 44, 52; Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 43, 83, 108.

for example, was based on Johann Neudorffer's earlier work, and filled with engraved examples of letters in German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew which were used by German and Dutch print or punch-cutters at several presses, including that of Christopher Plantin in Antwerp. Incidentally, Fugger considered writing an art, and posed to his reader the question of how art could exist if there were no art of writing.⁵⁵

It is the Plantin connection that is most relevant for us because his work was not only sold on the continent but also by his agent in London.⁵⁶ One Thomas Vautrollier, a craftsman who had fled the continent during the religious persecutions of the sixteenth century worked for Plantin for a time in England. Around 1568 he established his own printing concern and in 1569 produced a writing book called "*A Booke containing divers sortes of hands*," believed to be the first of its kind in England. One of the most popular to follow was the work of Clément Perret, published by Plantin in Antwerp in 1569. The engraved plates in it combine art and alphabets, each set of letters placed within an ornamental cartouche done of elements of strapwork and grotesque design similar to those of Beneditto Battini.⁵⁷

The king's signature provided legitimacy and authority to the royal letter. As mentioned earlier, after an injury to his hand James I was known to have used a stamp. In writing a book detailing the pattern for the eventual inauguration of his son Charles, James noted in the Epistle Dedicatory the help he received from the Duke of Buckingham who "hath much eased my labor considering the slowness, illnesse, and incorrectnesse of my hand."⁵⁸ Charles II seems never to have used a stamp and, as we have said, on many occasions added a personal line before his name, a convention followed by his successor James II.

After having been signed (or stamped), the letter was then folded twice across the width of the paper and twice lengthwise to form a square or rectangle on which was written the endorsement. It carried the name and full title of the recipient as well as, in many cases, a border design replicating the motifs and design of the borders on the letter. The folding further guaranteed the letter's confidentiality as well as in some cases the additional stamping with a wax seal.

55 Wolfgang Fugger, *Handwriting Manual entitled A Practical and well-grounded Formularly for Divers Fair Hands* (Nuremberg, 1553), Introduction. The book was translated and printed in English by Harry Carter (London, 1955).

56 Clair, *History of Printing in Britain*, p. 89.

57 Clément Perret, *Exercitatio alphabetica nova et utilissima, varijs expressa linguis et characteribus* . . . (Antwerp, 1568); reprint Miland Publishers (Nieuwkoop, 1968).

58 James I, *A Meditation upon the 27, 28, 29 verses of the xxvii Chapter of St. Matthew. Or a patterne for a kings inauguration, Written by the King's Majestie* (London, 1620).

Limners, Printers and Embellishers

Who were the artists or limners who decorated the letters? And why are they often spoken of in the same breath as miniaturists? Mary Edmund in her work on Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver explains that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries “the painting of portrait miniatures in watercolor” was an art known as limning.¹ Hence miniaturists were limners but not all limners, perhaps Edward Norgate, for example, were predominantly miniaturists. In the early seventeenth century limners engaged in a variety of artistic and decorative projects.² The key is that those limners who decorated royal letters and illustrated books and may also have painted miniatures, and miniaturists who primarily painted tiny portraits both worked in water based paints laid on parchment, vellum, or even cards. This technique distinguishes them from easel painters whose medium was oil paint applied to wood panels, linen or canvas. It is also interesting to note that by the time of the reign of James I the limners were all Englishmen, as opposed to the easel painters who still by and large came from the Continent.

Limners: Nicholas Hilliard and Edward Norgate

There are two limners whose names are of interest to us in the context of decorated letters. The first is Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619) and the second Edward Norgate (1581–1650). George Tomlin (or Tomlyn) and Gideon Royer who flourished during the Restoration were technically ‘writers, embellishers and flourishers,’ although they (or their assistants) may have limned the gold scrollwork and added color to the royal badges and coats of arms in the letters of Charles II and James II.

At the time of his accession James I confirmed Nicholas Hilliard in the office of his majesty’s limner, an office he had been granted by Elizabeth. Fourteen

¹ Edmund, *Hilliard & Oliver*, p. 19. For a more recent study of Miniaturists, see Coombs, *The Portrait Miniature in England*; and see also Strong, *Renaissance Miniatures*.

² “They [the limners] were artist-craftsmen who could paint panel portraits, design and often make jewels and plate, execute designs for tapestries and stained glass, supervise the décor and costumes for court fêtes, provide drawings for engravers or illuminate official documents.” Strong, *Renaissance Miniatures*, p. 8.

years later, in 1617, James granted him sole privileges “for making, graving and imprinting such of the said pictures as he should hereafter make and invent . . . and sole lycence, power, privilege, and authority for and during the term of twelve years,” i.e., until 1629. He was further entrusted to make, grave or print “pictures of our image” and “representations of our person . . . in paper and parchment as in any other thing” and “to cause to be made frames, [and to] erect and set up any presse or presses or other instrument or instruments whatsoever fitt for the imprinting of our pictures” without “trouble or molestation” from any “corporate company or companies or other person or persons whatsoever.”³ There is no mention in Hilliard’s patent, however, of royal letters. He was primarily a miniaturist and portrait artist, who was granted sole privilege of reproducing the king’s picture. Nicholas died in 1619 and his son assumed the office that he had held in reversion since 1608.

Hilliard’s death puts him out of the running as the limner of the portrait of James on the letter of 20 May 1623 to the tsar (James I [12]) and his son, Laurence Hilliard, was no longer painting at that time because of an injury to his right hand from the attack of four “turbulent and mutinous men,” although some said the story may have been exaggerated.⁴ Norgate, as we will see, was first employed by James, certainly by 1613 and perhaps earlier, although his name occurs more frequently in Caroline records. Over the years he was sent on diplomatic missions, often as a courier, for both James I and Charles I. He was a friend of Van Dyck who stayed with him in London in May 1632.⁵ Norgate was also close to, and may have been a distant relative of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, painter, architect, and diplomat who mingled with courtiers and artists alike and was knighted by Charles in 1628. Gerbier served the King as a diplomatic representative in Brussels and in that capacity met often with William Trumbull, English agent in the Spanish Netherlands and resident there, also a friend of Norgate. All of this is to say that Norgate frequented artistic and diplomatic circles close to the English court and had connections near Antwerp, by the sixteenth-century the European center of engraving and printing.

Because he was a limner and frequented court circles Norgate’s name has long been associated with the portrait miniaturists. His own reference to Isaac Oliver (limner to Queen Ann) as ‘cousin’ reflects that if not a relative, he was

3 13 October 1608 (E403/2699, no. 9). MS Cal. Pat. Rolls, 15 Jac. I, pt. 9, no. 15 (C66/2138, no. 15), to Nicholas Hilliard, special license for making the King’s picture for 12 years.

4 Edmund, *Hilliard & Oliver*, p. 186. Peter, Isaac Oliver’s son, was at the beginning of his career as was John Hoskins. As miniaturists there seems to be nothing linking them to the court at this time. Strong, *Renaissance Miniatures*, pp. 186–187.

5 SO 3/10, May 1623, Exchequer warrant that Norgate be paid for Van Dyck’s diet and lodging.

a close acquaintance to Norgate. Many such details come to light in Norgate's own work, *Miniatura*, published in two editions, the last admirably and extensively annotated by J.M. Miller and J. Murrell.⁶ It is a compendium of most of the known details of Norgate's life as well as his text on painting. Now, in ordering the facts of his political and artistic career, and adding some new discoveries, we are able to identify with certainty the design and limning of the collection of royal letters in the Russian archives as his work.

The first mention of Norgate's life of direct relevance to us is on 24 April 1613. In an entry for that day in the accounts of John, first Baron Stanhope of Harrington, the Treasurer of his Majesty's Chamber (1596–1616), is a record of ten pounds paid to Norgate "for his paynes taken to write and lyme in gold and colors certain letters written from his Majesty to the King of Persia and the King of Mager."

This document verifies that Norgate was in the business of limning for the king as early as 1613. The fact that his payment was from the king's Chamber and not from the Privy Council (as was the warrant for the payment) indicates the degree of crown interest in the order and reflects the personal concern of James with matters of foreign policy.⁷ Moreover, the entry provides evidence of Norgate's proximity to the secretaries of state who prepared the texts of the royal letters and to the officers of the Household in charge of finances. It also clarifies that Norgate both inscribed the prepared texts and painted the decoration on the parchment, two activities that would later be again spelled out in his patent under Charles I.

In September of 1613 Norgate married Judith Lanier, sister of the artist and musician Nicholas Lanier. Norgate was certainly in London at that time. Four years later we discover through John Castle's correspondence with William Trumbull, that Norgate visited for a month or six weeks with Trumbull in Antwerp with whom he "had a near friendship." After some difficulty in obtaining a travel license because of his peripheral involvement in a court case he was granted leave by the Privy Council in February 1619.⁸ In the meantime he had written to Trumbull that he was "tired of being idle, especially since I take no tobacco."⁹ Between 1614 and 1620 I find only five extant limned documents to the tsar although there may have been other letters sent elsewhere. Apparently, however, a point missed by earlier writers, Norgate had a tiny income from a

6 Norgate, *Miniatura* (1997).

7 Lord Harrington's Notebooks nos. 78, 79 in Vertue, *Note Book*, p. 76.

8 *APC 1617–1619*, 28 February 1618/19, p. 384.

9 HMC, *Trumbull*, v1 601 (no. 1298).

lifetime annuity of fifty pounds given him by the Crown in December 1614.¹⁰ Before his travels, in 1618 Norgate had been granted the office of one of the clerks of his majesty's Signet in reversion, the position having been subscribed by Sir Ralph Winwood, then secretary of state.¹¹ It was an important position that officially put him close to the Crown and other officers of Chancery. Moreover, by virtue of that reversion Norgate also became clerk extraordinary to the Privy Council and received payment by warrant from the Council for work done there. This is significant in that in 1630 there is evidence of payment to him from the Privy Council for having limned a document regarding the Marches of Wales. (See below.)

By October 1620 Norgate was finally free from personal obligations and ready to travel. He left England for the continent where he is found in Frankendale (Frankenthal?) in November 1620.¹² We know from comments in *Miniatura* that he visited Italy in 1621 and 1622 and, according to his own words, saw the Italian grotesques of Giovanni da Udine, Raphael's pupil, in the Plazzo de Chigi.¹³ His absence from London at this time raises the question of the identity of the limner of the highly decorated letter to the Russian patriarch of 24 June 1620, mentioned above (James I [9]). It is possible that the borders and first line of the King's title were prepared before he left the country and that the text was entered by a scrivener, or it simply may have been that someone else limned the document.

Certainly Norgate was back in England by February 1626 (and probably much before that) when we find a note in the East India Company court minutes of his being paid 6 li. "for his pains in writing and limning the three letters to the King's of Siam, Bantam, and Massaser."¹⁴

On 10 March 1630/31 we have explicit evidence of Norgate's work for the Crown. At that time a warrant was addressed to the secretaries of state "now being and yet to come" requiring that Edward Norgate write their foreign letters.

Our trusty and well beloved servant Edward Norgate, Esq., one of the Clerks of our Signet Extraordinary, hath for many yeares bin employed as well by our late father of blessed memory as also by ourselfe, in the writing, limning, and preparing ready for our Royall signature of such letters as have bin sent from our said late father and ourself to the Emperor and Patriarch

10 MS Cal. Pat. Rolls, 11 Jac. I, pt. 21, no. 6 (C/1998).

11 May 1618, SO 3/6.

12 BL Add. 72,359.

13 Norgate, *Miniatura*, p. 102.

14 CSP Colonial, East Indies, China and Persia, 1625–1629, p. 260, February 15–17.

of Russia; the Grand Signior the great Mogul the Emperor of Persia, and King of Bantam, Maccaster, Barbary, Syam, Achine, Fez, Sus, and other far distant and remote Kings, Princes, and Potentates, which service he has allwaies performed to our good content and liking.

*And whereas we are informed that of late many letters of that kind have been written and limned by Scriveners and Paynters in and about London, and so become exposed to the publique and common View, wee have therefore thought good as well in regard of the good and acceptable service heretofore done Unto Us by the said Edward Norgate . . . to will and require you and either of you, that all such letters as hereafter shall be sent from Us to any of the Kings, Princes, and states aforementioned, or any other whatsoever of that kind, may be written, lymned, and prepared ready for our Royall signature by the said Edward Norgate only and his deputies or assignes, whom wee have especially appointed to attend that service. . . .*¹⁵

There are several points of note in this letter. First is the issue of privacy and the not exposing of the king's words to "the publique and common view"; second is the reference to the fact that Norgate had been limning for James; and thirdly, the matter of the mention of the patriarch of Russia as well as the tsar, indicating that the English knew about and recognized the power of the patriarch both in familial and governmental terms. Furthermore, this may have been a draft of a similar letter or warrant addressed to the secretaries of state ordering that letters "to certain foreign princes" be written by Edward Norgate.¹⁶

The Russian examples confirm that decorated letters were, in fact, sent East. The crown letter indicates that they were prepared by Norgate. Moreover, I have found no decorated royal letters sent to the continent or Scandinavia—a further reason to trust the patent. There are plenty of undecorated English royal letters to be seen in the archives in Austria, Denmark, France, Portugal,

¹⁵ SP 16/186:67; CSPD 1631, p. 532.

¹⁶ A similar undated draft order is calendared in the SP 1623–1625, *Addenda*, at the end of James's reign as "[1625?]" (SP 14/14:75). I think it is a draft of the 1631 document, above, in view of the fact that there is no corroborating evidence of a corresponding warrant from the Signet Office in 1625. The undated draft does not list all of the rulers to receive decorated letters, mentioning only those of Persia, Russia, "the Great Mogol and other remote princes." It does, however, spell out that the letters be "written, limned, and garnished with color and gold by Mr. Edward Norgate, his Majesty's servant and Clerk of the Signet in Reversion." Another draft order to the secretaries of state appeared shortly after the one printed above, see SP 16/186:87.

Spain and Sweden.¹⁷ I suspect that because of geographical proximity and frequent traffic between those countries where tariffs and customs had been in place and regulated for generations, along with the fact that the hegemony of the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages had provided a common language in Latin, there was no necessity to add visual monarchical motifs to the correspondence. It is easy to imagine, however, that the limned documents were impressive at an eastern court where the English language and written word were difficult to understand even for interpreters who themselves had had limited experience in the West, and where knowledge of the king was minimal.

In February 1633 Norgate was abroad. He was made Windsor herald in the autumn of that year in the place of John Bradshaw recently deceased, a further recognition of his limning abilities and his court connections.¹⁸ Coincidentally we find no limned letters to Russia that year. In March 1634 the Privy Council directed a warrant to Sir William Uvedale, Treasurer of his majesty's Chamber,

*to pay unto Edward Norgate, Esq., the sum of one hundredth and forty pounds for his extraordinary pain taken in writing, limning, and preparing ready for his Majesty's signature an Establishment for rectifying of the ancient English March.*¹⁹

By legal definition an 'Establishment' was 'an ordinance or statute', in this case, a legal act for the governing of the Marches or border counties between England and Wales. The warrant directed to Uvedale indicates that the payment came from the Household of the king. Presumably the Establishment was to hang in Ludlow castle where the meetings of the Council of Wales were held. The warrant, however, is of interest not just as an example of the king paying for the decoration of a domestic document but also for the fact that the warrant acknowledges Norgate by name. If the Establishment were found it would provide an unimpeachable example of Norgate's limning.²⁰

17 I.e., in the Haus-Hof-und Staatsarchivs (Grossbritannien); Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon; Archivo General de Simancas, and the Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

18 SO 3/10, October 1633, "The office of Windsor Herald with the usual fee of 40 marks per annum to Edward Norgate . . . By order from the earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England and by him proscribed and procured."

19 March 1634, Privy Council Registers, p. 531 (old folio number, 271).

20 I have searched the records of Ludlow Castle and the archives of the Marches, looked at the papers of the past lord marchers and presidents of the Council, all to no avail. But the document may yet be hanging in some country house in Wales. The copy of the appointment of Henry Hastings, third earl of Huntingdon, in 1634, as deputy marshal in

In June 1636 the King moved to Hampton Court to escape the infection in areas of the City. He took with him the Treasury Office of his Chamber and the Household personnel. Whether Norgate went with the court remains a mystery.²¹ Two years later, in 1638, Norgate succeeded to the Signet clerkship for which he had earlier been granted the reversion. He traveled north the following year with the king and in November 1639 was sent “as a person of great distinction” by Charles to Ferdinand of Austria on diplomatic business regarding the fleet.²² Limned letters were sent to Russia in 1639, 1641, 1642 and the last one in 1646. The King was executed in 1649 and Norgate died the following year with seventeen hundred pounds owing him from his late Majesty.²³ With Norgate’s death and the advent of the new republican government there was an intermission in the practice of ornamenting government letters.

Could the limning under James and Charles have been done by Norgate’s ‘deputies’ or ‘assignes’ rather than by him? I suspect not. Many clerks could (and did) learn to write clear italic or chancery hand and embellish capitals with gold, but limning demanded a talent reserved for the few who had been trained in the art. It also remains an open question as to whether he had assistants or even a studio. Phillippa Glanville points out with regard to the smiths, that “the Stuarts did not establish royal workshops,” as did the French and the Russians.²⁴ On the other hand, what may be thought of as odd in the Norgate story is not the absence of a signature, natural in the case that this was not easel painting, but the dearth of references in his book and correspondences to what he was doing. Most probably he had taken an oath of confidentiality similar to the loyalty oath taken by Weckherlin and other servants of the Crown.²⁵ As underscored in his patent, confidentiality regarding the king’s words was imperative.

There is, however, one oblique and rather poignant but revealing line in the opening of his second edition of *Miniatura*, undertaken at what we are told by the editors was “the end of 1648 or early 1649,” wherein Norgate notes his dabbling in painting “for my recreation” when “my better Employments gave

Leicestershire and Rutland was drawn by Norgate but was not decorated. [HAP], Box 18, folder 9, Huntingdon Library. I want to thank Noah Millstone for this reference.

21 7 June 1636, Privy Council Registers, p. 251 (old folio number. 124).

22 *CSP Venetian 1636–1639*, p. 589. On Norgate’s activities in the north see Aylmer, *King’s Servants*, pp. 154–155; *CSPD 1639*, pp. 59–60, 82, 144–146, 180–181, 242–243.

23 NA Prob/11/215 (sealed 1 October 1650). The sum, if ever paid, was to be divided between Norgate’s sons Thomas and Arthur.

24 *Britannia & Muscovy*, p. 50.

25 For the word’s of Weckherlin’s loyalty oath, see BL, Add. 72439, 1630, Document 9.

me leave." Now, he continues, those employments are "past and gone and finding my selfe at leasure more then enough," I have been revising some old passages. Clearly the second edition was prepared after the execution of the King and the "better Employments" had been his limning of the royal letters, a career now "past and gone." Over the years Norgate must have produced at least fifty letters for the crown, probably many more, and yet he makes no mention of them or of his studio, and nor does anyone else whose papers I have read—not the secretaries of state, the ambassadors, or friends in diplomatic and court circles. Yet we are left with the patent confirming his position as limner, designs that speak for themselves, and the words of a near contemporary, Thomas Fuller, who called Norgate "the best Illuminer or Limner of our age."²⁶ Robert Herrick, in his poem *Hesperides* described Norgate in 1648 as "one rarely tun'd to fit all parts."²⁷

We have found no limned manuscripts sent out from the Commonwealth or under the Protectorate although there are two letters to the tsar of Russia from the English parliament that are unadorned.²⁸ With the Restoration and an opulent new court decoration returned to royal letters. After his coronation the first limned letter from Charles II to the tsar in 1663 is designed to draw the eye immediately to the initial 'C' in a block in the upper left corner, from the top arm of which hangs a gold medallion displaying an orange calendula. The margins across the top and on both sides are printed and colored (Charles II [3]).

Writers, Printers, and Embellishers: George Tomlin and Gideon Royer

The extant Restoration letters from 1660–1676 (except that of 10 May 1661 which is not decorated) were probably written (actually copied) from the secretary's draft, printed, and colored by George Tomlin. Tomlin is more elusive than Norgate for although we have receipts for his work and petitions for his payment there seems to be little known about his life. This may be because, unlike Norgate, Tomlin and his successor Gideon Royer were not part of the royal circle. As printers and embellishers they were craftsmen rather than artists.

26 Fuller, *History of the Worthies*, p. 161. "He [Norgate] became the best illuminer or limner of our age, employed generally to make initial letters in the patents of peers, and commissions of ambassadors...."

27 *Hesperides*, no. 301.

28 RGADA, F. 35, op. 2, nos. 87 and 88 are undecorated letters from the Commonwealth to the Tsar.

By the end of the Protectorate Tomlin had set up shop in London as a writing master. According to notes in the Bagford MS Catalogue of Copy Bookes,²⁹ Tomlin had been a student of Richard Gething (see above) and by 1658 advertised himself as “G. Tomlin, Master in Writing at the Hand and Pen in Leather Lane.” There he sold “the fairest and best pieces of text hand and flourishing either in gold and colors or in black and white.” He was building on his reputation gained by his book *Chirographia*, printed in 1645.³⁰

Tomlin became known as the king’s ‘embellisher and flourisher,’ terms more connected with inscription than decoration, and began working for the Crown at the time of the Restoration. His royal patent, 1 February 1660, explained

*That by his industry and pains with much charges and expenses he has Invented a new manufacture or way to text and flourish vellums and parchments in black and white with our royal name both in Latin and English with our portraiture, imperial arms, badges, and other instruments better and more exact than the name and title of any former king has heretofore been done by any other person for such reasonable rates as he does and will take for the same. . . .*³¹

Not only did it appear that he adequately produced documents in proper form but he seems to have done it more cheaply by means of his new manufacture than it could have been done by hand.

*And that said manufacture is wrought with a rolling printing press and engraven plates, and is of much benefit and advantage to our subjects in respect as good work otherwise wrought cannot be done for ten times the price.*³²

As a result the King was pleased to grant him a royal patent for his sole use and benefit for fourteen years.

Apparently Tomlin had used his rolling press much earlier when he printed “vellums texted with the late King’s name” that were “never required” for

29 BL Harl. 5949.

30 Tomlin, *Chirographia*, (London, 1645).

31 NA C66/2963, no. 3.

32 Apparently a patent was granted in 1634 to Arnold Rotispen or Rotsipen for a “presinge or printinge engine with wheels and rolls after his peculiar manner” but I have not found the patent itself nor have I found any other mention of the device beyond this. Berry and Poole, *Annals of Printing*, p. 120.

obvious reasons. It was sometime in the late 1650s or very early 1660's, however, that he became convinced that others were "going about to counterfeit" his invention.³³ And he was no doubt right. There is evidence that some Stationers early in the reign of Charles II began supplying Chancery with "sheets of parchment specially prepared for the engrossment of Letters Patent." They had copper plates engraved with the letter 'C', adorned, and sometimes containing a portrait of the king, and other plates that provided the remainder of the first line of the title. They were "surmounted by scroll-work, heraldic insignia and other ornaments. [And] vertical plates similarly designed were sometimes used for the margins..." Using these plates, parchments were prepared in advance for eventual drafting of domestic documents by order of Chancery. Certainly the technique, if not occasionally the same plates, was also used for royal letters. The description in the patent of the plate bearing the initial letter is similar to the design we see on the royal letters of the period, generally without the portrait.³⁴

A rolling press, probably similar in theory to Tomlin's, had been used on the continent much earlier. An engraving of such a press in a Flemish print shop was done by Theodor Galle around 1637.³⁵ In England a later account noted that one Dight, in 1590 had, "at the sign of the Falcon near New Street," printed pictures from woodcuts, "for in those days graving on copper and the use of the rolling press was not common here."³⁶

In the summer of 1662 Tomlin petitioned the crown for further privileges for "ornamentally writing and embellishing in gold patents, letters to the emperor of Russia, etc." In October of the same year we find a warrant to Sir Edward Griffin, treasurer of the chamber, to pay 23 li. to Tomlin for "embellishing two letters sent to the Emperor of Russia with the King's arms, ornaments, badges, gold letters, etc."³⁷

For reasons unknown but probably related to improving his income, after receiving his first, Tomlin sought a second broader patent that would provide him with the sole privilege to print the queen's letters as well as those of the king. Consequently on 28 March 1663 he, George Tomlin and his executors, administrators, assigns, deputies, agents, servants, and workmen were granted

33 SP 29/91:93 (*CSPD* 1663–1664, p. 461), January? 1664.

34 Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal*, p. 270.

35 For a description and picture of the earlier press, see Globe, *Peter Stent*, p. 268, and the frontispiece.

36 BL Harl. 5910, Vol IV, no. 38.

37 *CSPD* 1662, 15 October 1662, p. 518.

*Full power, privilege, license, and authority solely to print the name and title of us, our heirs, and successors in text hand, both in Latin and English upon vellum or parchment, and solely to print the pourtraitures, imperiall armes, badges, and other ornaments of Us, our heirs and successors with a rolling printing presse and engraven plates, for the term of twelve yeares . . . And also full power, privilege, license, and authority solely to print the name and title of our most dear and royal consort, Queene Katherine in text hand both in Latin and English upon any vellome or parchment and of the pourtraiture, armes, and badges of our said deare and royall consort with a rolling printing press and engraven plates for the like term of twelve years.*³⁸

In addition this patent provided Tomlin with a yearly stipend of the sum of twelve nobles to be paid in equal portions twice annually. It also provided for the prosecution of offenders found "printing in corners without license." The stipend may have eased the budget for Tomlin's living expenses but apparently it did not extend to covering his business expenses. At the end of the first year of his new patent Tomlin requested 143 li. "for ornamenting patents and letters to the Grand Seignior [Mehmed IV] with the king's pictures, badges, etc." The same day a warrant was sent to Sir Edward Griffin, treasurer of the chamber, to pay Tomlin for the said services.³⁹ This is the first of a series of requests for payments for work that continued through the decade. They are a valuable source of information for historians in their naming of the recipients of royal letters.

On 11 July 1665 a warrant was issued to Griffin to pay Tomlin, "embellisher, flourisher, and writer" 40 li. "for 4 skins of vellum, written and embellished with the King's arms, picture, etc., sent to the Emperor of Morocco and King of Fez, to the Prince of Castile, to General Gayland, and to the General of Santa Cruz."⁴⁰ I am unable to identify the latter three and find it odd that decorated royal letters were now sent to Generals, if, indeed, that was the case. They may have been simply written with gold flourishes. In December of the same year a similar warrant was addressed to Griffin to pay Tomlin "for writing and embellishing nine skins of parchment with the king's portrait, arms, and badges being the articles of peace concluded between Great Britain and Turkey and also for writing and embellishing letters to the Grand Seignior Sultan Mahomet

38 NA C66/3042. MS Cal. Pat. Rolls, 15 Car. II, pt. II, no. 3.

39 The subsequent mentioned bills and receipts are calendared in the State Papers but originate in Entry and Docquet books. See *CSPD*, 1663–1664, 20 December 1663, p. 83.

40 *CSPD* 1660, *Addenda* 1660–1670, 11 July 1665, p. 702.

[Mehmed IV] and the Lord Vizier.”⁴¹ Also that December we find a petition by Tomlin addressed to Griffin for payment “for writing and embellishing letters to the Emperor of Russia, Grand Seignior, Vizier Azem, etc., in 1662 and 1663,” i.e., two years previously. In addition, Tomlin complained to Griffin that he was in trouble with his creditors and suffered from want of money.⁴² It is not clear what transpired after his complaint. In May 1666, the Lord Chamberlain was issued a warrant to “swear in” George Tomlin to the office of the King’s “writer, flourisher and embellisher.”⁴³ Three months later, on 18 August 1666, Tomlin requested 20 li. “for writing and embellishing letters to Sultan Mahomet [Mehmed IV] and his Vizier, Azem.” The same month, however, he petitioned Sir Robert Long, auditor of the Court of Requests, to have Griffin pay the 236 li. due to him “for four years past”⁴⁴ (The Court of Requests “for the expedition of poor men’s causes” had been abolished with the Court of Star Chamber in 1641 but was revived under Charles II.)⁴⁵ And, he further petitioned Lord Arlington, secretary of state (1662–1674) to write to the lord treasurer, Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, requiring that Sir Robert Long pay Griffin the 234 li. 6s. 6d. due to him “for flourishing several skins of vellum with the King’s portraiture, arms, ornaments, and badges in gold, for which he has had divers warrants but received nothing.”⁴⁶

In October of 1666 we find another request, this time for payment of 40 li. for decorating two letters to Sultan Mahomet [Mehmed IV] and two to Vizier Azem. It is unclear, however, whether these were the same letters mentioned in August or whether they were new ones.⁴⁷ Again in 1666 Sir Robert Long is requested to issue debentures for payment for 266 li. due to Tomlin for past work.⁴⁸ Warrants to issue to Griffin were requested on 19 January 1667, 16 March, 15 October, and 26 December but apparently to no avail. In 1670 we find Tomlin writing to Arlington for what may have been the last time requesting 396 li. “long due to him” and saying he had now “neither money nor credit to buy gold and other things necessary.”⁴⁹ Two letters to the tsar, however, of August 1670 and April 1673 are similar to the others known to have been done

41 *CSPD 1665–1666* (SP 29/139:79), 20 December 1665, p. 109. The document bearing a portrait is identified here as a treaty.

42 *Ibid.*

43 *CSPD 1665–1666*, 3 May 1666, p. 378.

44 SP 29/168:107 (*CSPD 1666–1667*, p. 50); SP 29/168:37, 18 August 1666 (*Ibid.*, p. 107).

45 *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office*, II, 148.

46 SP 29/168:108, 22 August 1666 (*CSPD 1666–1667*, p. 60).

47 SP 29/176:39, 26 October 1666 (*Ibid.*, p. 219).

48 SP 29/186:116, n. d. (*CSPD 1666–1667*, p. 408).

49 *CSPD, Addenda, 1660–1670*, p. 630.

by Tomlin (Charles II [16] and [17]). Between April 1673 and September 1676 there were no decorated letters sent to Russia.

Returning now to Mr. Royer, we find on 20 January 1669 a warrant issued to Sir Edward Griffin to pay 10 li. to one Gideon Royer “for embellishing with arms, badges, etc.,” a letter sent to the emperor of Russia carried by Sir Peter Wyche, Envoy Extraordinary.⁵⁰ Charles had announced his intention of sending Wyche in his letter of 15 January 1668 to the tsar (Charles II [15]).

The following year, in September 1670, a warrant was issued to Griffin to pay Royer 20 li. for writing two letters, one to the king [*sic*] of Persia, the other to the tsar. The latter was on the behalf of General Major Van Bockhoven, Caspar Calthopp, and William Parke (see Charles II [16]).⁵¹

Royer apparently succeeded George Tomlin as the “King’s writer, flourisher, and embellisher,” although there is no record in the State Papers or on the Rolls of a patent for him. In the course of his work Royer experienced some of the difficulties concerning payment that had plagued Tomlin. The problem itself is somewhat explained in a letter of June 1673 from Sir Edward Griffin (treasurer of the chamber) to secretary of state Williamson. Griffin, whose job it was to pay the writers and embellishers complained about not having received money from the Levant Company and said “that the King never paid for the Turkey ambassador’s letters.”⁵² In other words, in the arrangements between the merchant companies and the Crown the responsibility for payment for embassies, ambassadors, letters, etc., remained unclear even toward the end of the century.

In September 1676 we find again a warrant to Griffin to pay “the King’s writer, flourisher, and embellisher” for the preparation of “three skins in velum adorned with the King’s arms, ornaments, and badges in gold with three superscriptions and labels most part in gold, as also for writing them, partly in gold, being for three letters to the emperor of Russia, one whereof was sent by his envoy Trefann Memthenore [*sic*] the other two by the king’s own envoy John Hebdon”. (See Charles II [18, 19, 20].) Besides these letters to the tsar, Royer also decorated the Treaty of Peace and Commerce with Tripoli in 1677 and a letter to the emperor of Fez (i.e., of Morocco) in 1682.⁵³

50 29 January 1669, *CSPD 1668–1669*, p. 163.

51 September 1670, *CSPD 1670, Appendix 1660–1670*, p. 464.

52 12 June 1667, *CSPD 1673*, p. 366, Levant Company.

53 22 June 1677, *CSPD 1677–1678*, p. 206; 26 June 1682, *CSPD 1682*, p. 270.

Early Stuarts



James I

The King and the Crown

James I sent more than twenty decorated letters to eastern rulers signifying his interest in negotiating treaties of amity and friendship as well as establishing commercial ties. The refashioned titles on his correspondence and the seals and heraldic symbols chosen to decorate his letters were designed to characterize the image of the king and Crown he wished to convey to those heads of state. The titles and the decorations reflect key elements underpinning the notion of Jacobean kingship. Dynastic lineage and legitimacy were principles paramount to the image James wished to export to a world beyond England, and were a recurrent theme during his reign. There is an extensive literature on James's writings, political and literary, where his positions are analyzed in detail. Here, however, in considering the royal letters as representing the king, and the limning as serving the Crown, it is helpful to very briefly call to mind a few of those ideas that were fundamental to James's theories of monarchy and shaped the design and text of his correspondence.

Born in 1566, James acceded to the Crown of England when he was thirty-seven years old, having been nominally king of Scotland for twenty-five years. His upbringing was shared between the Scottish magnates, his tutor George Buchanan, and what members of the Kirk bore influence at the moment. One might say James's ideas of government and kingship were formed under Buchanan's tutelage and took shape from the experiences of his youth and early manhood when he was exposed to constant and sometimes violent political maneuvering for power amongst the Scottish Lords and clergy. From these experiences and from scriptural injunction James formed a theory of kingship that was humanly paternal, divinely inspired, and rooted in Protestantism.

James's assumption of the English throne while reigning king of Scotland produced the quintessential composite state as described by the modern historian J.H. Elliott.¹ A vivid visual image of this union occurs in James's letter of May 1623 to Tsar Michael of Russia where, in the upper right hand corner there is a finely limned composite flower—one half English Tudor rose and the other half Scottish thistle, each half with the respective botanically correct leaves. Henry Peacham had included a similar plant in his 1612 emblem book, *Minerva*

1 J.H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past and Present*, 137 (1992), pp. 48–71.

Britanna, dedicated to James's eldest son and heir presumptive, Henry, Prince of Wales.² The design, then, was not altogether new but here the motif, in the same letter coupled with the incorporation of the arms of Scotland into the heraldic shield of England, reflected James's refashioning of the title of 'King of England' to 'King of Great Britain.'³ (See Fig. 7)

As crowned head of state his position within the western brotherhood of kings was clear. What his title and rank meant to the peoples of the East, as we have seen, was less clear. They knew little of the man and his works and, as a modern historian has said, "James was his own spokesman in print."⁴ The factors that contributed to the building of James's personal monarchical image were well defined in his writing, in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, his *Address to the Star Chamber* in 1616, and *Basilikon Doron*, to mention several, and formally incorporated into his title.⁵

The first proclamation issued after his accession to the English throne, 24 March 1603, confirmed James as the "onely lawfull, Lineall and Rightfull Liege Lord, James the first, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith."⁶ In it James's lineage was publicly and widely proclaimed in a text that was published not only in England and Scotland but also in France, the Hague, Vienna, and other places. He was described therein as

lineally and lawfully descended from the body of Margaret, daughter to the High and Renowned Prince Henry the Seventh... his great grandfather, the said Lady Margaret being lawfully begotten of the body of Elizabeth, daughter to King Edward the fourth (by which happy conjunction both the Houses of York and Lancaster were united to the joy unspeakable of this kingdom... the same Lady Margaret being also the eldest sister of Henry the Eighth....

and these words were designed to confirm the legitimacy of his succession to the crowned heads of Europe and beyond, and lay to rest any thoughts to the contrary.⁷

2 Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, p. 12. The motto accompanying the drawing says that "What I have planted I shall water."

3 The design was not original. It had been used by Queen Mary I whose badge united a Tudor rose and a pomegranate. Thomas W. Swindlehurst, *Heraldic Badges of England's Tudor Sovereigns 1485-1603* (London, 1964).

4 Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 46.

5 See *Political Works James I*, ed. McIlwain.

6 *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, 1, 2.

7 *Ibid.*

James's motto was *Beati Pacifici* (Blessed are the peacemakers) and it signified the idea of peacemaking that permeated his foreign policy. Arriving in a country that for twenty years had been engaged against the Spanish he immediately sought peace with Spain—much to the dismay of some staunch English Protestants. Diplomacy rather than war was to be “the keynote of his foreign policy.”⁸ At the request of the tsar he oversaw the negotiations of the peace of Stolbova between the Russians and Sweden (James I [6]) and the recurrent reference to peace and amity is underscored in much of his correspondence with Tsar Michael (James I [10, 11, 15]). His letter of 1620 to Patriarch Filaret ([9]; figure 4), as we have seen, displays at the top a handshake within a heart, a symbol of peace and hope that their hearts shall join together.⁹ It was a theme of his rule. Even the masques and panegyrics of his court reflected to a great extent James's concern with peacemaking.¹⁰ After his death he was referred to in parliament as “the late King of happy memory [who] loved peace and hated war.”¹¹ John Donne remarked in a sermon in 1626 that he was a “peacemaker of all the Christian World.”¹² And he would be painted by Rubens on the ceiling of the Banqueting House receiving a crown of laurels from Peace and Minerva whose counsel guided him.

James's relations with Parliament, however, were often less than peaceful. His idea of kingship biblically sanctioned by the law of divine right was well thought out by the time he was twenty-one years old. Monarchy, he said, is a “true pattern of divinity... Kings are called gods by the prophetic King David because they sit upon God his throne in the earth.”¹³ In the *Basilikon Doron* he admonished his son, Prince Henry, to “love that God” who first made you a man and then made you “a little God to sit in his throne and rule over other men... he has erected you above others.”¹⁴ The notion of ‘divine right,’ however, limited Parliament's maneuver room while it served to frame well

8 Wormald, “James VI and I,” *ODNB*.

9 Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, II, 135. See Chapter 3, p. 43.

10 Smuts, “Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I,” p. 110, in Peck, ed., *Mental world of the Jacobean Court*. “James employed a relatively restricted range of iconographical motifs in contrast to the forest of symbols with which Elizabeth had surrounded herself.” Parry. *The Golden Age Restor'd*, pp. 21–29.

11 *Proceedings in Parliament 1625*, p. 655.

12 Sermon of 21 May 1626. Donne, *Sermons*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, VI, 290.

13 Psalms 82:6; *Political Works of James I*, ed. McIlwain, p. 54.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 12. See also, J. Wormald, “James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*” in Peck, ed., *Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, pp. 36–54; also, see Sharpe, *Image Wars*, pp. 11–57.

the ideology of the King's prerogative powers, powers for which James said in Commons on 4 May 1614 that he would "die a 100 deaths" before infringing.¹⁵

Although Parliament's voice was heard in foreign affairs during his reign, particularly with regard to the Spanish marriage arrangements in 1623–1624, and throughout his rule trading companies pressed that institution (and the Crown) for favorable alliances, final decisions and policy remained with the king. In treating matters "concerning government or mysteries of state," James told parliamentarians, it would be "to our high dishonor and to the infringing of our prerogative royal" to have any interference in them.¹⁶

James supported Russia in her wars against Catholic Poland, perceiving Eastern Orthodoxy as against the papacy. Moreover, aside from the confessional issue, James depended on supplies of hemp and tar brought by the Muscovy Company to supply the English navy. In 1623 he formalized the Crown's interest in Company business by making its agent in Moscow a crown appointee. That letter from James to Tsar Michael announces the appointment of Christopher Cocks, with powers to negotiate without the 'trouble' and 'hazard' of an ambassador. (James I [14].)

From issues relating to his peacemaking and commerce (and not unrelated to the libels printed against him regarding his legitimacy) James thought much about his "reputation in the eyes of the whole world."¹⁷ He knew rightly that "a king cannot be without many eyes upon him as one exalted on a height and eminent place."¹⁸ That place of eminence was further ensured by title, the words of the title identifying the holder.

Shortly after his arrival in England, in 1604, James issued a proclamation altering the traditional style of the English king's title from 'King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland' to 'King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.' (The inclusion of France went back to the middle ages and by the seventeenth century was retained only by custom. It remained until 1801.)¹⁹ During the often acrimonious debate in parliament at the time that union with Scotland was proposed and denied, Sir William Maurice suggested that with the linking

15 *Proceedings in Parliament 1614 (House of Commons)*, pp. xxii, 138.

16 King's speech in parliament, 3 December 1621, reported in Akrigg, *Letters*, pp. 377–378.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 343, To Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, October 1615. Perhaps the most vicious libels against James were written by the Polish Catholic polemicist Gaspar Scioppius and published in 1611 ("*Ecclesiasticus auctoritati Sereniss D. Jacob . . .*" and "*Collyrium Regium Britanniae Regi Graviter ex oculis laboranti menun missum*"). See also HMC, *Trumbull v*, nos. 360, 411, 415, 507; *Ibid.*, VI, nos. 108, 402.

18 *Ibid.*, *Letters*, p. 189. To Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, 1602? [*sic*].

19 Fearn, *Discovering Heraldry*, p. 82.



FIGURE 7 James I to Tsar Michael, 20 May 1623, RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 33.

of Britain and Scotland the title of the ruler also be changed from 'King' to 'Emperor.' Great discussion followed but the measure failed to pass a vote.²⁰ Throughout his reign alternating styles of 'Great Britain and Ireland,' or 'Great Britain, etc.' with or without the addition of the Scottish regnal year, were used on royal documents.²¹ The king's titles were reinforced on the royal letters with visual symbols that displayed both the English lion and the Scottish unicorn with their respective banners of Saints George and Andrew, and included new arms for Ireland that were comprised of a harp or 'stringed argent' on an azure ground.²²

James was also patently aware of the personal and public sides of his position, the man and his office or, as the historian Kantorowicz might have it, 'the King's two bodies.' He spoke on more than one occasion of the "two persons in me, a particular friend and a general Christian King."²³

Although Parliament had rejected the title of 'Emperor' the theme of Imperial Rome and the idea of an imperial crown, were, nevertheless, embraced by James throughout his life, although never with the same passion as that of his son Charles. The triumphal arch designed by Ben Johnson and erected for the new king's entrance into England displayed London as *Nova Roma*, the seat of empire, a design later picked up by Charles for his rebuilding and labeling the City 'imperial.' The pageantry welcomed James as "the emperor of a reunited Britain" naming him "a King who was descended from the imperial stock in the form of the Trojan Brutus, the first ruler of Britain."²⁴ The theme, however, was as much a reflection of a new interest in Roman antiquity among English architects and artists as it was a statement of royal image. James himself was perhaps more fascinated with the intellectual idea of historic Rome and its outposts in Britain than with the imperial theme per se, although he wrote to Patriarch Filaret with the hope of "better strengthening of the Amitie and Alliance between these two Imperiall Crownes." (James I [11].)

The coincidence of James's intellect, his diversity of learning, and his entrance onto the stage of English politics at the time of the death of the old queen had opened the way for him to build a government based on his own already well articulated idea of kingship. Practically speaking, James left domestic concerns to the officers of Chancery, the Treasury, and the courts of law, including the High Court of Parliament, but jurisdiction over foreign

20 Strong, *Van Dyck*, p. 45.

21 *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, I, p. xi.

22 Fearn, *Discovering Heraldry*, p. 82.

23 Akrigg, *Letters*, p. 91. To George Gordon, Earl of Huntley, 1589.

24 Strong, *Coronation*, p. 265.

affairs, negotiations relating to treaties and alliances, and diplomacy in general he kept for the Crown. He said he took as a “charge of the almighty God” to advance the good of his subjects through friendship and trade and he encouraged the ‘Emperor’ or ‘Shah’ of Persia to do likewise in a letter of 1622 (James I [10]). In his letters to the emperors of China and Japan, as well as to the tsar of Russia he sought alliances and friendships that would support closer and more frequent relations through trade and commerce. With that in mind he introduced the office of master of ceremonies and restructured the office of secretary of state.

The Master of Ceremonies and Secretary of State

In 1603 the eyes of the European states had been on Westminster and the newly arrived king from the north. For as king of Scotland James had become known abroad for his interests in the commercial and religious affairs of Europe. Not only did he have family connections with France through his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, but he had also reached out to Catholic Spain, the Protestant princes of the Empire, and the Danish king, Christian IV, whose daughter Anne he had married. Moreover, he read and studied about countries beyond the bounds of the Europe he knew. James had an extensive library of cosmological and geographical works from Great Britain and the Continent. Concerned for a means to regularize his international interests, broaden England’s commercial horizons, and to introduce his new English government to foreign powers, James I established for the first time in England an office of Master of Ceremonies with an administrative structure for handling the ceremonial aspects of diplomatic relations. This office, an offshoot of the king’s Chamber, was responsible for overseeing audiences and entertainments of foreign diplomats as well as the writing and decorating of ambassadorial letters of credence. The first master of ceremonies was Sir Lewes Lewkenor who served throughout the reign of James and through the first two years of Charles, and died in 1627 leaving the office to his assistant, Sir John Finet.²⁵

Although the master of ceremonies and his staff were generally guided by the needs and dictates of the principal secretary of state, their responsibilities were considerably different. The secretary was the one who liaised with trading companies and discussed the privileges and personnel, the needs and wants of the companies that would become the focus of the king’s letters to

25 Finet served as assistant master of ceremonies from 18 March 1625 until he took office as master. *CSPD 1623–1625*, p. 503; *Ceremonies of Charles I*, pp. 12–13.

foreign rulers. He, in effect, was the draftsman of crown policy and it was he who prepared the royal letters for the King's signature. Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury, was secretary of state from 1596–1608. He compiled a valuable account, probably in conjunction with his assistant John Herbert, listing the duties of the secretary regarding negotiating treaties with foreign princes and the necessity of being acquainted with ambassadorial instructions and reports and having a thorough knowledge of all memos, notes, and letters pertaining thereto.²⁶ He also spelled out the secretary's primary tasks, as mentioned above, of keeping the Signet and presenting documents, including all royal letters, decorated or not, to the king for his signature.²⁷ These tasks, of course, required the secretary's regular attendance with the king and at meetings with privy councilors, and Parliament about matters of state. The royal correspondence drafted by the secretary was often corrected by James himself who, over the years, took over more and more of the actual writing as Cecil's health failed. It was also the secretary who oversaw the decorating of the letters, as we discover from the warrant to the secretaries regarding Edward Norgate in 1631 (see p. 58).

When Cecil died in 1612 James was "content for a time to be his own secretary," ordering Salisbury's secretary to forward all important correspondence to him. The drafting of remaining matters of foreign business was divided among others: Sir George Carew answered French letters, Levinius Munck letters from the Low Countries, George Calvert the Spanish and Italian letters, and Sir Thomas Lake, the letters of a domestic nature.²⁸ There was also a staff of encoders and decipherers for encrypted correspondence. This arrangement lasted for about two years when, in 1614, Sir Ralph Winwood was appointed secretary of state for life. Almost at once, however, the position proved too much for one person and a second secretary was added to the office.²⁹

Technically speaking, any letter or other document with the king's signature constituted a royal document. Sometimes, however, his signature was an authorized stamp. In the summer of 1624, toward the end of his life, James was unable to use his writing hand and a stamp was ordered from the masters

26 Faunt's discourse is printed in *EHR* 20 (1905), pp. 499–508. A copy of the "Treatise on the Dignity and Duties of a Secretary by Robert, Earl of Salisbury" is in the State Papers, *CSPD* 1623–1625, p. 546.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

29 Sir Thomas Lake was appointed in 1616 and in a short time dismissed from office. Sir Robert Naunton's appointment followed in January 1618 and in February 1619 Sir George Calvert was appointed joint Secretary and served until James's death in 1625. Calvert had been joined by Sir Edward Conway in 1623 who continued in office under Charles until 1630.

of the mint to be engraved for use on documents. The confirmation of the marriage articles between his son Charles and Henrietta Maria of France, for example, was not signed but stamped in the presence of the king.³⁰ I would suggest, however, that James may have used a stamp on foreign letters as early as on those to Japan and China in 1612. A simple tracing of the signature seems to confirm this hypothesis.

For the twenty-two years that James reigned I have found fourteen decorated royal letters. Many others that are calendared in the State Papers as having been sent have been lost over the years. Those extant that were prepared for China, Japan, Persia, and one for the tsar of Russia in 1616 appear to have been traced from the same pattern book (James I [1–5, 10]). The letter to the sultan of Turkey is without emblems of state but authorized the English ambassador there to negotiate on behalf of the Crown. The letter is similar in overall design to the letter of 1622 to Patriarch Filaret (see [12]). The letter to the shah expressed James's desire for enlarging English trade into Persia by way of the Volga, which would ultimately require permission from the Russians.

James's first letter to the Tsar ([5]) offers English assistance with peace negotiations between Sweden and Russia and further military support if that peace should fail. There are three letters of introduction to the tsar ([7, 9, 14]) and three hoping for continuance of leagues of amity and alliance ([10, 11, 14]). The letter of 1618 to Tsar Michael ([7]) is unusual and was clearly not prepared by a limner.

Within this collection of Jacobean documents are two that deserve special notice because of the quality of their decoration. I believe them to be the work of Edward Norgate. The first is a letter of 24 June 1620 from James to Patriarch Filaret ([9]), mentioned above. The design is clearly a visual description of the message desiring amity and friendship. It expresses a desire for increased trade with Persia across the Volga, a privilege, it suggested, that a friend might grant a friend, and one that if granted by the Russians might save the English thousands of pounds annually in tariffs.

The second is the letter of 20 May 1623 to the tsar, also mentioned above, that carries not only a portrait of the king but also the royal coat of arms and the composite thistle and rose described above as a symbol of the kingdom united by the person of James although not by the state through parliamentary act.

Letters

Printed below are the extant royal decorated letters sent from King James I to the Emperors of Japan and China, the Sultan of Turkey, the Emperor of Persia,

30 SP 14/146:44.

and Mikhail Fyodorovich Romanov (reigned 21 February 1613–12 July 1645) and Patriarch Filaret Nikitich (Fyodor Nikitich Romanov). For additional corresponding and related printed letters sent from Tsar Michael to James c. 1617–1618, see S. Konovalov, *OSP*, I (1950), pp. 90–95 and for the years 1620–1624, *Ibid.*, IV (1953), pp. 71–131.

For the editorial conventions used in transcribing the letters, see above, p. 4. The references in square brackets below are to the letters in this chapter from James I unless otherwise designated; full titles of Tsar Michael are included with letter [8].

[1] 10 January 1612, MS B 1611, James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. To the Emperor of Japan. Single vellum sheet, 50 × 36 cm. Printed in *Akkrig, Letters*, pp. 322–323. See Fig. 1a.

James by the Grace of Almightye God, who created Heaven and Earth, Kinge of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, etc.

To the High and Mightie the Emperor of Japan, etc., Greeting.

Although Wee have already at sundrie times, by our especiall letters made offer unto you of our Amitie and friendshippe, in asmuch as the same may tend to the settling and establishing of an entercourse of Commerce and Trade for the mutuall good of each others Subiects; And that hetherto Wee have not receyved any answer from you, which Wee attribute to the remotenesse and distance of the Places of our Dominions, and not to any backwardness in you, of whose willing and favourable disposition to entertaine all sorts of Strangers that doe resort unto your Countreys, Wee have receyved many testimonies aswell by our own Subiects as by others; Yet the love and desire which Wee have to the advancement of our Subiects good maketh us againe to reiterate the same offices of friendshippe towards you, as an encouragement, that thereby our People may receyve of their better usage and entertainment of you, Wherein as Wee have that confidence that our people will so demean themselves with all due respects of courtesie and friendshippe towards yours, so Wee doubt not but they will be the better acceptable unto you, and that iust protection at your hands as may be expected of a Prince and people that [i]s sensible of their Renowne and glorie and desirous to advance their profit and utilitie; And upon this ground Wee recommend these our Subiects to your safeguard and protection that both they may with securitie and safetie settle their trade within your dominions, and be defended from the malice and wrong of any others that should goe about to interrupt or hinder them;

And so we pray almightye *God* to preserve and prosper you, and to make you victorious over your enemies. From our royall pallace at Westminster this

tenth of Januarie in the nyynth yeare of our Raigne of great Brittain, France and Ireland, etc.

James R.³¹

This document cannot be identified other than to say it may have gone with the ninth voyage of the East India Company to Bantam and Japan or perhaps on an earlier voyage and been postdated to compensate for travel time. The eighth voyage (see more below) left England in the spring of 1611, more than a year before this letter was written.³² The letter's importance lies in its form and decoration as much as in its content. It is an example of what we could call in modern usage a 'standard' or 'form letterhead'. The pattern across the top and on the borders of the vellum was replicated in at least twelve other extant letters prepared for sending to the Far East and to the tsar of Russia. (See letters [2–4, 6] and [10] below; Charles I, [5, 12, 14–17].) It is clear from the small variations in the scrollwork and design on these letters that they were individually limned, the design having been traced onto the parchment and then colored, rather than having been block printed in which case the only visible difference in the copies would be related to the degree of inking on the block.

The letter is framed on three sides by borders of equal width, each ruled off from the text by a double gold line and finished at the bottom of the left hand and right hand borders with three blue bells hanging on golden chains. Each border is decorated in a pattern of simple gold scrollwork drawn with a template or traced and highlighted with fine red lines and cobalt blue dots or small balls. The initial letter of the first line of the document is a painted blue and gold 'I', followed by gold decorated capitals "ames by the", above that line is a narrow row of gold scrollwork that replicates in simpler fashion the design of the borders. The text, written in brown ink follows after the painted letters. There is no emblem or other reference to the English monarchy within the decoration.

[2] 7 February 1614, MS B 1614, James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. To the Emperor of China. Single vellum sheet, 50 × 36 cm.³³

31 Akrigg, *Letters*, pp. 322–323. Akrigg believes that "it is highly unlikely that James did anything more than put his signature to this letter, presumably prepared by a Secretary." The signature here, however, differs from that on the letter to China, below.

32 For notice of other letters and blanks sent on the eighth voyage, see *The Register of Letters [East India Company]*, pp. 421–425.

33 This may be the letter originally belonging to R. Jasper More, Esq. that is printed in HMC, *Westmorland*, pp. 407–408.

James by the Grace of Almighty *God*, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian faith, etc.

To the High and Mightie Monarch, the great Emperor of China, etc., Greeting,
 The Report of the greatnesse of your power and dominion in those Easterne parts of the World hath stirred up a great desire in our Subiects to undertake a Voyage into Your Countrey to solicit your friendshippe towards the settling of a Trade and Commerce with your people, as they have alreadie done with dyvers other Nations as farr dissident from you, Wherein as Wee have willingly offered [*blot on Ms*] Royall approbation as a matter which tendeth to the Honour of Almighty God, and advancement of the Weale Publique, So Wee hold it our part not to deny them any thing that may adde eyther respect and countenance or protection and safetie in such their laudable endeavours: Upon which inducements Wee have been pleased to offer these desires of our Subiects to your favourable construction, Perswading our selves that as a Prince of Honour and [having a] sence of your Subiects good you will embrace their offer, and for their better encouragement afford them libertie and safetie within your Dominions for the settling of a Trade and Commerce with your Subiects with such Conditions of securitie and safetie as may be most convenient and necessarie for the Advancement of the Mutuall profit and utilitie of each others Countries and People. In which respect Wee have given them power and autoritie to contract with you or your Officers and We do not doubt but that their proceedings will prove as acceptable to you as they are and have bene to other your Neighbour Kings and Countries with whom they have traded to their good contentment; And that in Conformitie thereof you shall Charge and Command your Officers and Governours friendlie to receyve ayde and assist our People and protect them against the Envy and Malice of others that would goe about to wrong or interrupt them; And so Wee Committ you to the Mercifull Direction of Almighty *God*. From our Pallace of Westminster the Seaventh of Februarie, 1613, and in the eleaventh Yeare of our Raigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

James R.

As with the letter to the emperor of Japan [1], no family name is given in the salutation. Either it was not known or could not be transliterated. Unlike the situation with Japan, there was little contact between any of the English trading companies and China until later in the century. On 18 June 1604, ten years earlier than this letter, a license had been granted to Sir Edward Michelborne and others "to discover the countries of Cathay, China, Japan, Korea, and Cambaya and to trade there."³⁴ The license had been granted in blatant disregard of the monopoly patent

34 CSPD 1603–1610, p. 121 (Docquet), 18 June 1604.

*for eastern voyages held by the East India Company. A second similar grant was issued to Richard Penkevell on 9 January 1607, again to the consternation of the Company.*³⁵ *Neither of these grants produced trade or settlements to speak of.*

For similar border designs, see above, letters [1, 4–6] and [10]; Charles I [5, 12, 14–17]. As with the letter to Japan, this displays no emblem or heraldry representing the crown.

[3] 11 April 1614, Cotton Charter xvii, 29, BL. To the Emperor of Japan. Single vellum sheet, c. 50 × 37 cm.

James by the Grace of Almighty *God*, the creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To the High and Mightie Monarch, the Emperour of Japan, etc. Greeting.

Wee have heretofore directed our Royall Letters unto you in the behalf of our Subiects that have undertaken several voyadges into your Countries for the Advancement of Trade and Commerce abroad, To which although hitherto Wee have receyved noe answere nor any certain intelligence whether they have come to your hands or not, Yet the desire Wee have to advance our Subiects good in these their laudable endeavours and to procure them all the respect and countenance Wee may by interposing of our serious Recommendation towards other Princes and States abroad that shalbe willing to converse with them, maketh us again to reiterate the same offices of Friendshipp towards you, in asmuch as the same may tend to the settling and establishing of an entercourse of Trade and Marchandize with your People for the mutuall good and utilitie of each others Countries, Wherein if you wilbe willing to embrace this our choice, and to receyve our people with your accustomed favor and for their better encouragement to afford them your Royal Protection for the settling of their Trade and Commerce in those parts with such Conditions of securitie and safetie as shalbe most convenient for them; *Wee* are Confident that their honest and peaceable Conversation and behavior amongst you will prove as acceptable and profitable to you and yours as both heertofore and now at this time they have bene to divers your neighbour Kings and Countries who have most kindly and favourably entertained them, and assisted and Protected them, against all such as go about to interrupt or harme them, Which also *Wee* expect at your handes.

And so *Wee* leave you to Almighty *God* his Direction. From our Pallace at Westminster the eleaventh of April 1614, in the yeare of our Raigne of great Britaine, France and Ireland, the Twelfth.

James R.

35 Ibid., p. 344 (Grant Book), 9 January 1607.

As with the earlier letters to Japan and China [1] and [2], no family name is included in the title or salutation. The letter may have been prepared much earlier to accompany the eighth voyage captained by John Saris;³⁶ note that the blank letter [4] bears the same date. It could also have been prepared for an anticipated later voyage that never occurred. Saris returned to England in September 1614 and with the commercial success of that voyage it was hoped that he would soon return to Japan. He chose instead, however, to retire from the Company.

The border designs are the same as in [1], [2], [4], and [5], but with a more visible fine red outline to highlight the gold scrollwork. The letter displays no emblems of state. The gold endorsement is addressed "To the High and Mightie Monarch the Emperor of Japan." Below that inscription a paper daisy has been inserted into cuts in the vellum in order to create a three dimensional decorative flower.

[4] 11 April 1614, Cotton Charter xvii, 30, BL. To the [Blank]. Single vellum sheet c. 50 × 36cm.

James by the Grace of Almighty God the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

[The salutation line is blank.]

As it is a greate part of the Charge imposed by Almighty God upon Kinges and Princes to protect their Subiects both at home and abroad to advance their profit by all honest and laudable endeavours, So having understood of late Yeares from some of our loving Subiects that have traded into dyvers Countries neere adioyning unto yours of the reputation and Greatnesse of your Power and Dominion, Wee have been the rather induced to graunt them libertie to undertake a Voyage into your Countrey to sollicite your friendshippe towards the enterchanging of such Commodities of each others Contries as may be of use the one to the other, Being nothing doubtfull but you Wilbe willing to embrace this their desire, And not only to receyve our People with courtesie and favour but for their better encouragement to afford them Protection for the settling of a Factorie there with such conditions of libertie and safetie as shalbe most convenient for the Advancement of the Mutuall Profit and Commoditie of each others Subiects. In which respect Wee have enabled them with Power and authoritie to Contract with you on our behalf, assuring our selves that their dealing and proceedings with you will prove as profitable and acceptable to your People as they have done to dyvers other your neighbour Kinges and Countries with whom they have traded to their good contentment.

36 Satow, ed., *Voyage of Captain John Saris*, p.lxxvi; ODNB.

And in Conformitie thereof *Wee* desire you that you will expresslie Charge and Command Your Officers and People to ayde and assist them in their necessities, as they wilbe readie to do the like to yours if at any time Occation be offered unto them; And so *Wee* commit you to the direction of Almightye *God*, From our Pallace at Westminster, the eleaventh of April 1614, And in the yeare of our Raigne of England, France, and Ireland, the twelfth, and of Scotland the seaven and fortieth.

James R.

This is an unaddressed letter similar to that given to Captain Saris at the beginning of the Eighth voyage, see [3]. The name was to be filled in by a member of the company when it was needed. The endorsement also omits a name for the addressee. In design the letter is the same as [1], [2], and [3].

[5] 30 September 1616, F. 35, op. 2, no. 24, RGADA, To Tsar Michael. Parchment. 41 × 49.5 cm. The body of the letter without the king's and tsar's titles is printed in *EHR*, XXXII (1017), 96–97. See Fig. 1b.

James by the Grace of God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland. Defendor of the Faith, etc.

To the right High Mightie and right noble Prince *Michael Fedorowich* great Lord Emperor and great Duke of all Russia, Sole Commander of Voldeemer, Mosco, Novogrod [*full titles follow, see [8]*].

Sir John Merrick, knight, our Ambassador resident with your Majestie,³⁷ having by a gentleman of his traine (expresly sent hether to that purpose) advertised Us at large of what hath passed in his negotiation there, namely touching the Treatie of peace between Your Majestie and our good brother the King of Sueden wherein wee have well observed your princely readines to conforme your selfe to all good courses tending to a good issue of the said Treatie for the general good of Christendome and the particular benefit of the Crownes and Subiects of both your Maiesties. Wee have thought good by theis our royal letters to take notice of that your peaceable and princely disposition which Wee do highly commend, And for that (as wee are given to understand by our said Ambassador) your conformity therein did the more readily extend it selfe in respect of our mediation. Wee will in requital thereof, the more plentifully supplie with our royal intervention all convenient helpes that shalbe requiste to the advancing of that peace to your Majesties best

37 John Merrick (ktd. 1614), a member of the Muscovy Company, had served as a special ambassador to Russia 1601–1602 and again in 1613. In 1614 he was named Ambassador Extraordinary and Resident in Russia until 1617. Bell, *Handlist*, pp. 223–224. See also Phipps, *Sir John Merrick*.

contentment. In consequence whereof Wee now againe write to our brother the King of Sueden exhorting him not to be colde in so good a work but seeing your Majesties real and sincere forwardness therein to answere the same with a reciprocal roundness whereunto wee hope he wil incline at the intercession of Us who have been the happie instruments of makeing the late reconcilment between himself and our dearest brother the King of Denmark. But if (which God forbid) the intended peace shal not succeed and that your Majestie after a constant imploying of your best endeavor shalbe forced to reenter into the warre, Wee are well pleased in such case that our Subiects of either or all our Kingdomes shal in competent numbers with our free leave serve Your Majestie in those Warrs upon such reasonable termes as shalbe agreed on between your Majestie and them.³⁸

And in the meanetime whilst the aforesaid Treatie shall be in handling Wee have prohibited any more such levies to be made, as the Kinge of Sueden's ministers did here make this Sommer past. For all other matters concerning our affares Wee referr you to the report of our Ambassador to whom Wee pray you to continue your honourable regard to and give him such credite as to our selves in person. And so we comitt your Majestie to the Almightyes protection. Given under our Privie Seale at our Pallace of Westminster the thirtieth day of September in the thirteenth yeare Of our Reigne of great Brittain.

James R.

*A comment on the preliminary negotiations that were continued in Tikhvinø and ultimately produced the Treaty of Stolbovo in 1617, this letter, issued under the Privy Seal, reflects the English crown and the king's part in those negotiations. It is a response to Tsar Michael's missive to James on 18 August 1615 relating to the failure of the first negotiations and raising the matter of assistance should war continue.*³⁹

The border is the same design as that sent on the letters to the Far East; see [1], [2–4]. The top, left and right borders consist of Gold scrollwork with fine grey or black, probably once blue, dots on all the gold work and first line of lettering. No emblem of state or monarchy is displayed.

[6] 17 January 1617, *MS Eng. Hist.*, b. 172, f. 57v, Bodeian Library.⁴⁰ *To the Sultan of Turkey. Parchment. 29.5 × 43.5 cm.*

38 See S. Konovalov, *OSP*, VII (1657), p. 119, no. 3 and *OSP*, I (1950), pp. 64–65.

39 See I. Lyubimenko, *EHR*, XXXII (1917), pp. 93, 96–97. See also, *England and the North*, p. 189 n. 92.

40 Printed with permission from the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

James by the Grace of the most high *God*, Kinge of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian faith, etc.,

To the high and mighty Emperor Sultan Achomet Cham [Ahmed I] Cheefe Lord and Commander of the Musulman Kingdome, and sole supream Monarch of the Easterne Empire, sendeth health and greeting,

The many and greevous Complaints which our Subiects trading to your Towne of Argiere do daily make unto us of the continuall depredacons and spoiles done by your men of warre upon their Persons, Ships, and Goods, contrarie to our mutuall amitie and capitulacons of Commerce, have mooved us to give our Ambassador there resident with your Maiestie expresse charge to addresse himself unto you to treat in our name with you or such as you shall appoint for the purpose as well for the restoring and releasing of our subiects their ships and goods which have been there taken and retained, and namely ye shippe called the Grace of London with her men and goods as also of all other ships, prisonners, and goods of our Subiects as have beene taken at sea and brought unto your said Towne. *And* we have likewise given unto our said Ambassador a further charge to treat with you in a like manner of some good order to be established for the reglem[ent] of Traffick and for the safetie of the goods and persons of our subiects there for the tyme to come. In which treaty, we hope that you will have regard to the many benefits that have accrewed both unto that your towne, and to the rest of your Dominions from us our Kingdomes and People in furnishing them with such commodities as are most necessarie and behoovefull for them and also in sending home many of your people which have bene held captives by other nations and that in acknowledgm[en]t thereof you will make such a gratefull returne of curtesies as may encouradge our subiects to continue their beneficiall trade unto your Dominions and confirme us in our amity with your Maiestie: And soe prayinge you to recommend this affaie in such manner to your Vice-roy of Argiere and others your officers and Commanders there as it may have speedy reformacon, Wee wish you health and happiness, *Given* at our Palace of Westminster the 17th Daie of January, anno *Domini* 1616; and of our Raigne of greate Brittain, France, and Ireland the 14th.

James R.

After the death of Ahmed I,⁴¹ and following the brief reign of his Uncle Mustapha I, Osman succeeded as sultan on 26 February 1618. He wrote to James promising amity between their countries in a letter carried by Hussein Chiaus, Turkish envoy to France and England. James responded with overtures of friendship and commerce in a letter of November 1618. He closed by expressing hope

41 Ahmed I died 22 November 1617.

that “our people trafficking in your dominions may not feel any more such disturbances as in your late father’s time were offered unto them to their great loss and disquiet”.⁴² It is unclear how or when the present document was returned to England.

The borders are ruled off from the text with a fine gold line. The celtic initial *T* for James is gold pigment, perhaps earlier brushed with leaf, on a royal purple background and enclosed within a square box double in length and width than the subsequent capital letters “ames by the Grace” that are limned in light brown, probably originally gold pigment. The borders are finely limned in gold scrollwork with stylized flowers in alizarin crimson, light leaf green, and lapis lazuli. The design appears to have been laid on a ground of white punctuated with tiny black dots, a style of stippling brought from the continent as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. The ends of the borders on each side are hung with three blue balls. The endorsement is a smaller rendering of the limning on the document itself except that the initial ‘*T*’ (in “To the”) is imposed on Islamic green rather than royal purple.

[7] 24 April 1618 [?], F. 35, op. 2, no. 26, RGADA. To Tsar Michael. Parchment. 39 × 42.5 cm.

James by the grace of [God King] of greate Britaine, France and Ireland, Defendor of the true Christian faith, Sendeth Greeting,

To the Righte highe righte excellente and righte mightie Prince The Lord Emperour and great Duke *Michaell Phederwitch* of all Russia, By the grace of God holdinge of himself Wollodimur, Mussco and Novograd [*full titles follow*, see [8]]; Right high right excellent and right mightie Prince,

The elder brother of this bearer named John Car, being invited by your Princelie liberalitie, married a wife and established his estate in your Dominions and shortlie there after died. But before his decease he sente for a younger brother of his owne named Thomas Car who, coming thether and finding his brother departed was received into your service and honnestlie enterteyned Which [*illegible*] younge gentleman, the bearer hereof, named Robert Car, having understood, desired greatlie both to see his brother and offer his [*illegible*] to you, The whiche that he might the more easily compas he caused his frinds who are Nobleman and Gentlemen of good [*illegible*] humblie beseeching us that wee would be pleased to recommend him and his aforesaid brother to your [*illegible*] consideration.

And because [*illegible*] the said Noblemen and Gentlemen have deserved well of us so as wee [*illegible*] the father of the young gentleman hath both in

42 CSPD 1611–1618, p. 582; Knolles, *Turkish History*, pp. 949–951; HMC, *Downshire*, VI, 596 (nos. 1289–1290).

our service at home and in forraine wars given proofs of his [*illegible*] to them such favour as their behavior in your service shall deserve. And if [*illegible*] retorne and see their frinds in their owne Countrie Wee prairie that when they shall [*illegible*]. And soe much the rather for our [*illegible*] who wish unto you (righte highe righte excellent and right mightie Prince) [*illegible*]. Given at our Pallace of Whithall the four and twentieth daie of Aprill in the yeare of our Lord Jesus Christ 1618.⁴³

James R.

*John Car or Kerr, was serving the Tsar by 1615. On his death his brother Thomas took his position. In 1625 Thomas was granted an estate near Nizhny Novgorod and his sons became Moscow noblemen.*⁴⁴

The document as a whole was spoiled by damp and is exceedingly difficult to read. The top and bottom, left and right hand borders are ruled off from the text to form a frame around the document, although the left side border is double the width of the right. The frame is filled with crudely drawn freehand pen and ink scroll work in red and faded blue, clearly not the work of a limner, but perhaps done by the clerk writing the text. The initial 'I' in James is a perfect example of an early seventeenth-century cadel, as is the small 'R' in "Right high right excellent" on the eighth line beginning the salutation at the start of the text.

[8] 31 May 1618, F. 35, op. 2, no. 27, RGADA. To Tsar Michael. Parchment. 64 × 64 cm. Iames by the grace of God, King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith, etc.

To the right high, mightie, and right noble Prince, the great Lord, Emperour, and great Duke Michaylo Phedorowich of all Russia selfe-upholder: viz.: of Valdemer, Mosco, Novogor[d,] King of Cassan, Astracan, and Seberia; Lord of Plesco; Great Duke of Smolensco, Tewrsky; [Ugor]skey, Permskey, Vatskey, Belgarskey, and of others; Lord and great Duke of Novogorod in the Contrey; Chernegovskey, Razanskey, Rostovskey, Yaroslavskey: Belozerkey: Udorskey, Obdorskey, Condinskey, and Commander [of] the North-parts: Lord of Iverskey: Cartelinskey: [Lor]d of Grazinskey, Caberdinskey, Cherkaskey, and of the Dukedomes of Igor[skey] and of manie other Kingdoms Lord and Conqueror, Our most deare and loving Brother, Greeting.⁴⁵

By the reporte of Your owne Ambassadors, and by [s]uch answeres as they have receaved in writinge from our Privie Councill and by our owne Letters to

43 The date is only discernable because it bleeds through from the endorsement on the reverse of the letter.

44 Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, p. 19.

45 The title is as it appears in the document. The transliteration of place names is different in every letter.

you which they carrie, You will soe fully understande how brotherlie and frendlie Wee have dealt with you in those things which they propounded as wee shall not neede to repeate it in theis; which are only to accompanie and give creditte to our Ambassadors who bringeth them to you, which is Sir Dudley Digges Knighte, a Gentleman of our Privie-Chamber, and a Person of verie good accounte in this Kingdome. Hee shall declare noe lesse to You then Your owne Ambassadors have receaved, and enter into perticular treatie with You concerninge both the renewinge of the Leagues of Amitie and the Lone of Monie by us graunted, and the conditions wee desire for our Subiects to whom wee praie you to give Credit, as to our Selfe, and to hasten his dispatch and returne as soone as conveniently you maie.⁴⁶ And soe wee commit Your *Maistie* to the blessed Protection of the *Almightie*. From our Roiall Palace at Westminster the Laste Daie of Maie, in the year of our *Lord God* One Thousande Six Hundred and Eighteene. And of our Raigne of great Brittain, France, and Irelande the Sixteenth.

James R.

The letter, written in May, was carried by Digges who left England in June 1618. His embassy reached Archangel in July. Surprisingly to the Russians and the English Digges never went on to Moscow but left Archangel in early September to return to England. The letter and a part of a loan were probably carried to Moscow by Fabian Smith, then chief agent for the Muscovy Company, who arrived with his entourage in the city in January 1619. They were not granted an audience with the tsar until March of the same year. Part of the loan to Tsar Michael was given to him then but it was too late to support the Russian army against the Poles.⁴⁷ Digges's diplomatic failure disappointed the Russians and prolonged a formal alliance with the English. It also affected the outcome of the Muscovy Company's interest in a route through Russia into Persia.

The top border was cut off. A rectangular block on the left holds the king's initial decorated with symbols of state. The 'J' for James is gold on a blue ground overlaid with an intricate design on a vertical and horizontal grid. At the top of the initial are the red and white roses of England, on the right the thistle of Scotland. Below the roses and thistle, on the left side is a shield with the red and white flag of St. George, the harp of Ireland, and a symbol of Scotland partially obliterated by a tear in the parchment. On the lower left is a seated crowned lion holding an emblem that displays the crowned English rose, underneath is a sprig of thistle.

46 The Articles of the League of Amitie were presented to the Russian Commissioners by Merrick in 1621. They are printed in S. Konovalov, *OSP*, IV (1953), p. 102.

47 For a brief description of the failed Digges mission, see Phipps, *Sir John Merrick*, pp. 149–151. See also, the “Letter of Sir Dudley Digges to the Marquis of Buckingham, from Archangel, 31 July 1618,” ed., S. Konovalov, *OSP*, I (1950), pp. 101–103; *CSPD Addenda* 1580–1625, pp. 639–640 (1621?); *ODNB*.

At the top right of the initial is a shield displaying the flag of St. Andrew and a red rampant lion on a gold ground. The remaining capitals of the first line, "ames by the" are in gold on a blue ground stippled in gold.

[9] 24 June 1620, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 28, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 58 × 63 cm. Printed in Britannia & Muscovy, p. 212. See Fig. 4a.*

Iames by the grace of *God* King of great Brittainy, France, and Ireland, defendor of the faith, etc.

To the most reverend great Lord, and holy Patria[r]ch *Feloret Neketich* [Filaret Nikitich] of Mosco and of all Russia, our moste deere and lovinge Cozen, Greeting:

Most reverend Lord, Havinge resolved for divers important causes, and specially for the better strengtheninge and confirmacon of the Amitie and correspondence betwene us and our most deere and lovinge brother, the great Lord Emperor and greate Duke *Michaell Feodorowich* of Russia sole comaunder, your most worthie and renowned Son to send over thither this our Ambassordor our trustie and welbeloved Servante Sir John Merick Knight, a gentleman nighe unto us of our privie Chamber; And heretofore employed by us in the same place to mediate and conclude the happie peace agreed upon betwene our said good brother the great Lord Emperor and great Duke and the King of Sweden. *Wee* have given him speciall Commission and charge to attend you the great Lord and holy Patriarch of all Russia with this our princely addresse of congratulacon as well for the peaceable and succesfull raigne of our said good brother, the great Lord Emperor and great Duke, your most famous and ever beloved Son; as also your safe and happie retorne into your Country after soe longe a tyme of captivitie together likewise with the high and reverend dignity which you have by *Gods* providence most deservedly attayned unto as a due rewarde of your worth and high merite to your great honor and the generall good of that greate Empire of which happines as wee shall ever wishe all prosperous continuance and increase, so wee do hereby acknowledge the many and great favors you have shewed to our Marchants not only heretofore but especially now since your wished retorne and particularly to our Agent Fabyan Smith and others of our subiects residing there;⁴⁸ And doe withal pray you to holde them still under the proteccion of your grace and favour as wee for our parte shall ever be ready to afforde the like princely request upon all occasions wherein wee may any waye gratifie you to whom wee wishe all health and eternall happines, *And so* we leave you to the proteccion of *Almighty God*

48 Fabian Smith, a member of the Muscovy Company, served as English agent in Russia from sometime in 1626 until the year of his death in 1632. Bell, *Handlist*, p. 225.

from our Mannor of Greenwich the four and twentieth day of June 1620 and of our raigne of great Brittain, France and Ireland, the eighteenth.

James R.

A letter of the same date and similar in content was sent to the tsar. Apparently the original is lost but a scribal copy is extant in the English National Archives (SP 91/2, f. 68), and printed in S. Konovalov, OSP, IV (1953), pp. 99–100. Acknowledging the patriarch as the father of the tsar indicates the English understood the familial connection as well as its implications for the relationship of church and state. By the Supremacy Act (1534) the English King had become “supreme head of the church of England.” Thus James was corresponding with the patriarch on more or less equal terms. Note the salutation to the patriarch as ‘Cozen.’ The congratulation on the safe and happy return of the patriarch is a reference to Filaret’s imprisonment in Poland at the end of the Time of Troubles following negotiations regarding the Moscow throne.

This letter is framed on three sides by borders of intricate gold and silver-grey floral scrollwork on a dark ground ruled off from the text with a fine blue and gold line. The side borders extend the length of the text and end with three balls, the center ball more elongated and oval in shape, hanging on a golden thread. In the center of the top border is a heart outlined in gold and held on each side by two figures, each part mammal and part marine: a lion with a fish tail on the left and on the right a horse (a unicorn whose horn has faded?) with the same tail, perhaps a pastiche of the royal arms held by the English lion on one side and the Scottish unicorn on the other. (See Charles I [27].) Within the heart against a sky blue background are two hands in a handshake, a design from an ancient Roman coin. The message of amity and friendship across land and sea would be difficult to miss.⁴⁹

Within the area reserved for the text there is at the top a crimson stripe that ends in a square block in the left hand corner. In the block is the stylized initial on a crimson ground similar to that in [8] above. On the left of the stem of the T is the crowned English lion holding an oval shield on which the Tudor Rose is displayed, and on the right the crowned Scottish unicorn with a thistle. Above each of these animals is a shield corresponding in theme: on the left the red cross of St. George and on the right the white cross of St. Andrew.

Ultimately the decoration and letter were persuasive. A year later, on 11 May 1621, the tsar renewed privileges for the Muscovy Company.⁵⁰

49 Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, pt. 2, p. 135. See Chapter 3, p. 00.

50 SP 103/61, f. 26 (Treaty Papers).

[10] 14 February 1622, A/1/7B, *East India Company Charters, BL. To Emperor Abbas of Persia*.⁵¹

James by the Grace of Almighty *God* the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, and Defendor of the Christian faith, etc.

To the high and Mighty Monarch, the great Lord Abbas, Emperor of Persia, Media, and Armenia, High and Mightie Prince,

The advancement of our Subiects good, both at home and abroad, As it is a part of that Charge which Almighty *God* hath ymposed upon us and is incident to all Sovereign Kings and Princes, your Maiestie will not thinke it strange if having the last year interpellled [*sic*] you by our last letters in our Marchant causes which trade into your Dominions and [*illegible*], Wee doe now againe reiterate the same as new occasions doe arise from thence Which gives ympediment and Discouragement to our people in the prosecution of their Trade, not only being interrupted by some of your principall Officers in those liberties and Freedomes which our Subiects expected to enioy in those parts, and in Conformitie of the favours and graunts already afforded by your Maiestie unto them, but also for want of sufficient securitie in the Port of Jasques⁵² to enioy in against all attempts by Sea as of late they have found by experience, being assaulted by the Portingalls who seeke by indirect meanes if not to drive our subiects from all Trade in those parts at least to harme and interrupt them in it, as to make them weary of it.

And this is the cause why our Marchants are constrayned at this tyme not so fully and cheerefully to proceed in their Trade as otherwise they would be willing to doe both for their owne and your Subiects good and profit.

Wee do therefore recommend to your Princely consideration theis Overtures which our Subiects are to present unto you for their better securitie at Jasques or elsewhere, either by building some Fort or otherwise as your Maiestie shall hold to be most expedient for them, As also that your Maiestie wilbe pleased to receyve from them these greevances wherewith their Trade within your Countries is so extreemly burthened as cannot but tend to their utter Discouragement unlesse your Maiestie be pleased to reforme the same, And especially to afford them free libertie of Trade with all your Subiects for all Commodities whatsoever ymported by them without lymiting or restrayning the sale of them to any perticuler persons. And that you wilbe pleased to afford them your further favour that such Marchandizes as our people shall ymport into your Territories, being of the Native Commodities of this Land or otherwise may be as profitably Distributed there, as you would expect at our

⁵¹ Printed with permission of the British Library, India Office Records.

⁵² I.e., Jâsk Island in the Persian Gulf.

handes the like reciprocation for the better distributing in theis parts of the Commodities of your Countries.

Theis being the principall pointes in which our Marchants have humbly besought our Mediation to your Maiesty to be speedily and favourable redressed as maine obstacles and ympediments to the prosperous settling of their Trade in your Dominions, Wee leave them to your Princely consideration as appertaining both to the weale of your subjects and ours and to the strengthening and corroborating of our mutuall frendshippe. Given at our Pallace at Westminster this fourteenth of Februarie and in the nyneteenth yeare of our Raigne of great Brittain, France and Ireland.

James R.

Trade with Persia was complicated for reasons of geography and distance but Levant Company merchants had succeeded in part through establishing a connection between the shah and the English kings. There is an undecorated and undated draft letter among the Cotton charters (xvii.28) to "Prince Abbahas, King of Persia, Media, and Armenia, etc." from James that speaks of the "report of the worth and magnificence of your person [Shah Abbas], the valew and vertues of your people," and notes that Sir Henry Thinne "hath taken a resolucion to make a iourney thither" hoping that "such offices of frendshippe may passe betweene us as may incite our Marchants to frequent your countreys. . . ." Sir Thomas Roe went as special ambassador to the Persian court in 1616 and Dodmore Cotton was as an ambassador ordinary in 1628. The papers and journals of both of them are printed.⁵³

The design of this letter is similar to [1–4] and [6] above. In this case, however the ends of the left and right borders have been modified, each stopping about half way down the vellum with a heart motif and a pattern of gold filigree that continues to the end of the text and across the bottom of the letter, thus fully framing the letter.

[11] 1 June 1622, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 30, RGADA. To Tsar Michael. Parchment. 48.5 × 54.5 cm.* James by the grace of God King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.,

To the right high, mightie, and right noble Prince, the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke *Michael Feodorowich*, sole commander of Volodemer, Mosco, Novogorod [*full titles follow, see [8]*] and of manie other kingdoms Lord and Emperor, Greeting,

Most excellent Prince, most dear brother and frend, by the particular relation of our Servant and Ambassadour Sir John Mericke,⁵⁴ Wee received a full

53 For bibliography regarding their missions, see Bell, *Handlist*, p. 212. See also, Charles I [7].

54 See above, n. 37.

account of his proceedings and negotiation in the affairs wherein We lately employed him to your Maiestie, and to Our singular contentment and satisfaction Wee finde as well as by his report as also by the Letters Wee received from your *Maiestie* by your servant and Ambassadour Isaac Sinnoniwich Pogozone [Isaak Samoilovich Pogozhevo]⁵⁵ and by what otherwise he hath delivered unto Us in Your Name, that Your Maiestie is pleased in imitation of Your noble Progenitors, not only to continue the good Amitie and Frendshippe concluded betweene them and theis Our Kingdomes, but also to manifeste Your noble willingness to entertaine a more strict and neere Alliance with Us;⁵⁶ wherein as Wee cannot but highly commend Your Maiesties Princely affection, soe Wee shall never faile on Our parte to mainteine inviolably the Amitie and Frendshippe which hath so happily continued betwene Our Dominions and the Emperiall Crowne of Russia where, and particularly from Your Maiesty, Our dearest Brother the great Lord Emperour and great Duke *Michael Feodorowich* of all Russia sole Commander, shalbe sufficiently enformed by Your said Ambassadour with what loving kindnes Wee have received him, and what full contentment Wee have endeavored to give him in those things he propounded in Your Maiesties Name, which also Wee hope wilbe as well accepted by Your Maiestie upon perusall of the answere he hath receaved by Our direction and appointment from the Lords of Our Privie Councell: To whom, howsoever he declared in Conference that he had noe Commission to treat upon anie particulars for a League, further then to receive Our resolution and answere. Yet Wee praye Your Maiestie Our dearest Brother to understande, that Our meaninge is to observe as strickt and correspondant Amitie with Your Maiestie as hath ever beene betweene anie Our Progenitors or with anie Christian Prince in League with Us; whereof Wee shewed good testimonie by the absolute Commission Wee gave to Our said Ambassadour Sir John Mericke to treat, conclude, and confirme that League with your Maiestie, in such manner as might best stande with the commoditie of both Our Dominions and Subiects which Wee desire should be soe perfect and inviolable and so assured to either parte that the affaires betweene Us maie upon all Occasions be negotiated by Letters and particular Messengers, as well for the better and more speedy expediting thereof, as to avoid the tedious travaill of Ambassadors betweene Kingdoms soe distant and remote from each other, which Wee have found manie wayes inconvenient for the service of both Our States. And soe Wee leave Your Maiestie to the protection of *Almightie God*, From Our Pallace at

55 See below, [12] and nn. 57 and 58.

56 For the report, see above, n. 46 and P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, and J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 37–38.

Westminster, the Firste Daie of June, Anno Domini 1622, And of Our raigne of great Brittain, France and Ireland the twentieth.

James R.

Isaak Samoilovich Pogozhevo sailed from Archangel with Sir John Merrick in late August, arriving in England in October 1621. Tsar Michael had written to James on 17 June 1621 regarding the behavior of the Englishman Arthur Aston who had left the service of the tsar and joined the forces of the king of Poland, a traitorous act in Russian eyes.⁵⁷ This was an issue of concern to the Russians as well as was the broader matter of a defensive and offensive league. Pogozhevo delivered a scroll to the Privy Council on 4 January 1622 outlining these grievances. It is printed, as with Merrick's memorandum regarding the same.⁵⁸ James would not sign an alliance, but the English agreed to prosecute any English pirates found preying on Russian ships if they could be caught. They imprisoned Aston in the Marshalsea only to release him three days following Pogozhevo's departure.⁵⁹ The Privy Council met again on 7 June 1622 to consider the charges against Aston and sent a copy of their resolution of that date to the Russians (RGADA, F 35, op2, no. 31) declaring "that neither the said Sir Arthur Aston or his son upon their duty and allegiance to his Majesty shall ever hereafter serve the king of Poland or any other prince against the Lord Emperor and Great Duke Michaylo Phedorowich of all Russia sole commander nor attempt anything against any part of his imperial Majesty's dominions."

The top and side borders have been cut off. The first line of text begins with the decorated celtic style 'T' for "James" in gold and crimson on a blue ground similar to that on [8] and [9] above. At the top of the initial are small shields displaying symbols of England and Scotland and below them the lion and unicorn hold shields with the colors of St. George and St. Andrew respectively.

[12] 1 June 1622, F. 35, op. 2, no. 32, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 33.25 × 41 cm.

James by the grace of God Kinge of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, Etc.,

57 SP 102/49–10; translation, SP 91/2, ff. 78–79v. See S. Konovalov, *OSP*, IV (1953), pp. 85–86, 88–96; *ODNB*. Aston (ktd. 1641) had served the tsar from around 1613. He left Russia in 1618 to aid Sigismund III in the Polish wars against the Turkes.

58 S. Konovalov, *OSP*, I (1950), pp. 105–111.

59 Regarding the Pogozhev embassy, see Phipps, *Sir John Merrick*, pp. 165–169; P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, and J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 37–38.

To the moste reverend great Lord and holy Patriarch *Feloret Nektich* of Mosco, and of all Russia; Our most deare and loving Cozen, Greeting. *Most* reverend great Lord, Cozen, and deare frend,

Our late Ambassadors Sir John Mericke Knight, arrivinge at Our Court in companie with an Ambassador with Letters from Our deare Brother your most worthy and renowned Sonne, the great Lord, Emperour, and great Duke *Michaell Feodorowich* of all Russia sole Commander, and from you Our good Cozen, hath given Us good satisfaction of your kind acceptance of the Royall Salutations Wee gave him speciall charge to deliver unto you in his last negotiation Wherein to Our great contentment, as Wee have found reall testimonies of your love unto Us in the honorable Treatie and good Dispatch to Our said Ambassadors, which Wee heartily accept, Soe Wee have not failed to acknowledge the same, both in Our entertainment of the said Ambassador Isaac Simoniwich Pogozove [Pogozhevo],⁶⁰ and also by applying Our selves to give him satisfaction and content in whatsoever he hath propounded as far as the same mighte stand with Our Lawes and the conveniency of Our Affaires as you will perceive by Our Letters to Our deare Brother and the answers Wee have given the said Ambassadors; which also Wee doubt not but wilbe accepted both by his Maiestie and your selfe Our good Brother and Cozen, and that you wilbe pleased still to continewe all good Offices for the due observation and better strengthning of the Amitie and Alliance betweene theis two Imperial Crownes, according to the good affection you have already shewed upon all occasions tending to the same. Amongst which Wee maie not omit to give thanks for your manie and great favors to Our Marchants and to Our Agent Fabian Smith, now residing there, whom Wee doe earnestly recommend unto you, praying you to hold them still under the protection of your grace and favour. Wee for Our part shall ever be ready to hold all good correspondencie with you Our loving Cozen; To whom Wee wish all health and eternall happines, *From* our Pallace at Westminster, the Firste day of June, 1622. And of Our raigne of great Brittain, France and Irelande the twentieth.

James R.

The letter is framed by borders of delicate gold scrollwork highlighted with red, yellow, blue, and green. Inside the border at the top left is a rectangular block housing a decorated celtic 'T' similar to those in [8] and [9], above. It is limned in gold on a blue ground decorated with fine gold diagonal lines forming diamonds centered in which are gold crosses or stylized fleurs-de-lis. At the top of the 'T' is a rose and thistle under which are shields with English and Scottish emblems, and

60 See above, n. 59.

below them the crowned lion and unicorn. The words of the first line ("ames by the") are in gold on the same blue ground as the initial.

[13] 20 May 1623, F. 35, op. 2, no. 33, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 44 × 59 cm. See Fig. 7.

James by the grace of God Kinge of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.

To the right high mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperor and [*illegible*] Duke Michael Pheodorowich of all Russia, sole Commander of Volodemer, Moscoe and Novogrod [*full titles follow, see [8]*], Most excellent [*illegible*] Brother, Wee being ever glad of any occasion wherein wee may manifest our brotherly affection to your Maiestie [*illegible*] for the good of your Kingdomes or of any of your Subiects, are the more easily persuaded to expect the like and to enterceede for our Subjects [*illegible*] cause [*illegible*] assistance as now we doe, being thereunto moved by the humble [*illegible*] of the friends and kindred of one John Scroope [*illegible*] Realme of England and at present at Kassar⁶¹ where hee is impleid in the warres with [*illegible*] suiter that he may bee freed by your Princelie favors from that service and licensed to return hither into his Country.

We doe therefore in all affeccion desire your Maiestie to dismisse this man at our entreaty, and to permit him to depart in safetie from your kingdomes, that his freinds here may enioy the comfort of his companie. And we shall acknowledge the same as an argument of your greater affection and be readie to testifie the like unto your Maiestie whensoever your affaires shall require our assistance which you shall never wante from us whoe wish you all health and the preservacon of your kingdomes and person from danger, by the protection of the Almighty God.

Given under our Signett at our Pallace of Westminster the twentieth daye of Maye in the twentieth yeare of our Raigne of great Brittain France and Ireland.

James R.

John Scroope (Scrope?) was serving the tsar in Kazan. I cannot further identify him except to say that a man of the same name, possibly him, was sent in October 1630 to buy wheat from Russia.⁶² Apparently his family and friends petitioned James to intercede with the tsar on his behalf for a license to travel. It was a private and personal request to the crown, as was James's request to the tsar for a license for Scroope. Issuing it through the Signet Office gave particular crown authority to the letter and the portrait on it showed the king's presence in the missive just as

61 I.e., Kazan.

62 P. Dukes, G. Heard, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 62.

the king's portrait on the rolls of the Court of King's Bench indicates the putative presence in that court.⁶³ The order for the letter would have been countersigned by the secretary of state.⁶⁴ This is the only extant letter sent to the tsar from James that includes a portrait, indicating the personal nature of the request. The decoration was spared the fading of the text.

The text is framed on three sides by a finely limned decorative border on parchment without a colored ground. The borders appear to have been cut off on the bottom at each side, indicating that the limning was done for a longer letter and shortened after the text was inscribed. The sides are not symmetrical in design. In the upper left hand corner is a decorated 'T' outlined in the same style as earlier letters, [1-4], [6] and [10]. Within the configuration of the initial is a portrait of James enthroned, in ermine robes, holding the sword of state, and the orb. Around his neck is a medallion, traditionally the Order of the Garter. A lion is visible as part of the structure, a reference to the lions around Solomon's throne (1 Kings 10:20). A sun shines in the sky. The decorated 'T' and miniature of the enthroned King are very similar to the earlier design on the grant of title to Baron Haughton of Haughton, indicating that the limner probably had patterns to guide him.⁶⁵

Below the initial on the left border a bird sits on pink and red carnations, underneath is a crowned lion standing on a covered crimson royal crown with pink and yellow flowers beneath that extend to the end of the border. Centered on the top border are the royal arms, held on the left by the crowned English lion with the Tudor rose at his feet and on the right by the unicorn of Scotland with a thistle at his feet. On both sides of the arms are stylized honeysuckle and pansies or Johnny-jump-ups, and daisies with a bird with outstretched wings that is replicated midway down the side borders. The flowers and berries are discreet. There is no gold scrollwork or other design between them.

At the top of the right hand border is a heraldic badge showing the English crown suspended above a stylized composite flower that is half Tudor rose and

63 Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, p. 18.

64 Norgate was appointed a Clerk of the Signet in 1625 (Norgate, *Miniatura* (1997), p. 2. Regarding the office, see Aylmer, *King's Servants*, pp. 15-16. This letter is very faded making it extremely difficult to read. In a talk at the Victoria and Albert museum in 2013 that was subsequently jointly published by the University of London School of Advanced Studies Institute of English Studies and the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Academy of Linguistics, and Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages, I misinterpreted the letter to be about Christopher Cock. The error became clear after looking at the large photograph of the document sent to the English by the Russians c. 1950 and now kept in the National Archives at Kew (PRO 22/60).

65 BL, Add. Charter 32975. The charter decorates the cover of a small book by Andrew Prescott entitled *English Historical Documents*, British Library (London, 1988).

half thistle, with the appropriate leaves corresponding to each half. Below that is a sprig of wild strawberries, a bird similar to that on the left hand border, a spray of fuchsia, and the lion of England, sejant affronté, seated on the crown holding a sword and a fleur-de-lis. Below this symbol are carnations extending to the end of the document.

[14] 30 May 1623, F. 35, op. 2, no. 34, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 40.3 × 51.5 cm. Printed in S. Konovalov, *OSP*, I (1950), III–III.

James by the grace of God King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.

To the most high, mighty, and right noble Prince, the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke *Michael Feodorowich* of all Russia sole commander of Volodemer, Mosco, Novogrod [*full titles follow, see [8]*]. Greeting, Most excellent Prince, most deare Brother and Frend, for asmuch as nothing doth more nighly [*sic*] combyne and knitt the hearts of noble Princes in a mutuall League of Love and frenshippe then the entercourse of Trade and Commerce betwene the Subiects and People of their Kingdomes and Dominions which otherwise by their Contreys are farre remote one from the other. And for that Your Majestie Our dearest Brother having therein lively demonstrated Your Princely affection by confirming and inlarging for Our sake these Royall Priviledges of free Commerce which have bene so gratusly graunted unto Our Marchants and their fellows by Your Majesties noble Predicessors Emperours of all Russia.

Wee in Our Princely Nature doe hold it very agreeable (to Honor and Princely Society) to expresse Our gratefull acknowledgment thereof, and to make tender in that kind of Our like Princely grace and favour to any of Your Majesties Subiects, And for that Our Princely care of the good of Our loving Subiects in all their noble designs hath ever extended to the mutuall profit and commoditie of the People and Subiects of Your Majestie Our dearest Brother, Wee have for divers reasons of State and particularly for better increase of Trade and Commerce betwene both Our Kingdoms and People, taken into Our Princely consideracon that the Trade which heeretofore hath bene carried iointly in one common Stock within Your Majesties Kingdomes as well for ventinge the Commodities of Our Kingdome as for buying upp the Commodities of Your Majesties Dominions shall now be caried and managed (in all those parts of Your Majesties Dominions whereinto Our Marchants are licensed to trade) by all those of Our Marchants which are named in Your Majesties gratus Priviledges, and licensed by Us and by all such their Fellowes, Associats, Successors, and Factors (as are capable thereof) in a severall and particular Trade, every man for himselfe.

And Wee heartily pray Your Maiestie that you wilbe pleased for Our sake to hold Our said Marchants under the protection of Your Grace and Favour and confirme unto them in this course of their severall trading, all the said Priviledges and immunities which they soe long and happily have enioy'd by the grace and favour of Your Maiestie of Your royall Predicessors. *And* because Our Agent Fabian Smith having continued many yeares in Your Maiesties Kingdoms (with singular grace and favor from Your Maiestie which Wee heartily acknowledge) is now desirous to returne for his contrey and is gratusly granted by Us.⁶⁶ Wee have thought it very convenient and necessarie for the better ordering and supporting Our Subiects which shall remaine within your Maiesties Kingdoms and Dominions to have some other person of quality and discretion to reside and remaine there, through whose interposition and industry Our People may not only be releevd in their iust and reasonable occasions but all those other things tending to the maintenance and advancement of mutuall Commerce may be presented to Your Royall Hands, as also for some other special cause of Our service which Wee may have occasion to recommend unto Your Maiestie for effecting wherof Wee have sent over this Gentleman Our trusty and welbeloved subiect and servant Christopher Cocks,⁶⁷ gentleman, to remayne within Your Maiesties Dominions as Our Agent, whom Wee desire Your Maiestie to favor and credit in what he shall move or propound, either for the establishing and inlarging (upon all occasions) those gracious Liberties and Priviledges which Our Subiects do enjoy by the grace and favour of Your Maiestie Our dearest Brother and Your royall Predicessors, or for such other things as he shall receive command from Us, which also maybe negotiated with out the trouble and hazard of Ambassadors betweene two such remote Kingdomes. *And* so Wee leave your Maiestie to the proteccoon of *Almightie God*. From *Our* Palace of Whithall the 30 Day of May Anno *Dni*. 1623. And of Our raigne of Great Brittain France and Ireland the 21th.

James R.

The top and side borders have been cut off leaving only the inside ruled lines that separated the decoration from the text. The letter is similar in general design to the letter to the patriarch the previous year [12]. The initial T in the upper left corner is of the same design as [8–9, 11, 12] without the shields and animals. The background for that initial and for the first line of text is blue with gold diagonal lines forming tiny diamonds in which are stylized gold fleurs-de-lis.

66 Regarding Fabian Smith, see above, n. 48.

67 Christopher Cocks, a member of the Muscovy Company, served as English agent in Russia from April 1623 until late October 1624. Bell, *Handlist*, p. 225.

Charles I

The Image of the King

Forty-two decorated letters were sent to the tsar from Charles I (1625–1649). In design and execution the twenty-five from 1631–1648 are unique examples of Edward Norgate's finest work. These letters brilliantly reflect Maio's ideas of magnificence touched on in Chapter 3. In them dynastic symbols are minimized, giving way to expansive scrollwork surrounding exquisitely rendered Italian motifs in Renaissance style with elements of grotesque. What makes their story interesting to the historian is that the letters and Norgate's work were transformed at the moment when Charles embarked on his years of personal rule, indicating to a great extent the degree to which the royal letters represented King Charles personally as much as the state. These from the middle years of Charles I mark at once both the apex of the English decorated royal letter and the end of the tradition of its being limned. By 1650 the monarchy had been extinguished and the king's great limner was dead. To refresh our memory of Charles and his self-fashioning we must go back to the beginnings of his kingship.

As a natural born son of James I “by whose decease the Imperial Crowns of Great Britain, France, and Ireland are solely and rightfully come” Charles was crowned “by the grace of God King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.” in 1625.¹ He inherited a composite state. Charles's “inheritance in succession,” the words he wrote to the Russian tsar in 1625, expressed his political legitimacy (Charles I [1]). Unlike his father, by virtue of the customary and traditional rules of succession in hereditary monarchies he was secure on his throne. From the beginning his selection of artists for the court and paintings for the galleries, as well as writers for theatrical productions and architects for restoration tell us about the world he sought to create and the part he would play in it.

Van Dyck's canvases offer a clue to the inner mind of the king, although these masterpieces are too often viewed through the lens of civil war and execution. No one at the time that they were painted saw the works of Van Dyck, the ‘King's painter’ or ‘Picture Drawer of our Chamber in Ordinary,’² as

1 *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, II, 1–2.

2 The title as in the patent, NA E403/2518, f. 5.

particularly romantic or melancholy, nor did they or the artist himself see in Charles 'the sad eyes of impending doom' later read into the portraits.³ How could Van Dyck, who died in 1641, have known the fateful end? What we see is what Charles wanted us to see when he commissioned the equestrian portraits that have come to define the Caroline age—Charles both emperor and hero, wearing the Order of the Garter and replicating the image of Marcus Aurelius. The same themes are repeated in two letters to the tsar (Charles I [30, 42]).

Charles inherited the crown as a young man of twenty-five with minimal practical experience in government and none as king. He became heir apparent at age eleven on the death of his older brother Henry and acceded to the throne on James's death in March 1625. Charles's idea of kingship came in a large part from his father but not entirely. He was also, like many rulers of the period, inspired by classical literature and the study of history. In Charles's case he was a young man of impressionable age when the writings of Inigo Jones and the antiquarians of William Camden's circle brought a new significance and excitement to the connection between ancient Rome and Roman Britain. Their researches, begun earlier but coming to fruition in James's later years, provided Great Britain with a national past in antiquity and the king with the emblems of empire.

As a second son, Charles's education was solid but less rigorous than that of either his brother or his father in the sense that he was not schooled to be king. As a sickly child weakened by rickets and having a serious speech impediment, he was allowed to indulge in the love of painting and the arts, and that indulgence became a mainstay throughout his life. His brother Henry was a model prince—charismatic in personality, strong and agile in body, with a quick mind and consuming interest in the study of science and mathematics as well as the liberal arts.⁴ At age nineteen, however, he contracted what was probably typhoid fever and died shortly thereafter. Henry's abilities combined with the fact that he died young contributed to creating an image of a tragic hero that would be difficult for anyone to be measured against. The courtiers of much of Europe mourned his passing. Although few had ever met Henry personally, they had been enchanted with him as the image of a Renaissance prince that enhanced the idea of England as a Renaissance court. Jean Beaulieu, a news writer in Paris, embraced the sentiments of many when he wrote to William Trumbull, English agent in Brussels, of the great tragedy of

3 Strong, *Van Dyck*, p. 26.

4 See Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*.

the loss of “the flower of his house, the glory of his country, and the admiration of all strangers.”⁵

On Henry’s death the burden of succession fell on Charles. Lucy Hutchinson wrote in the memoir of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson, that “the face of the court was much changed in the change of the king, for King Charles was temperate, chaste and serious.”⁶ He was also most comfortable in the company of artists and scholars, and Edward Norgate, limner of his letters, was part of that group. So, too, was Theodore de Mayerne, physician to Prince Henry, James, and Charles himself.⁷ It was at Mayerne’s request that Norgate wrote *Miniatura*. At the same time it may have been Mayerne who introduced Norgate to the work of Giambattista Della Porta and his book *Of Human Physiognomy* that, expanding on Aristotelian ideas, linked physical appearance with personality traits and character.⁸ Della Porta’s text and illustrations certainly must have inspired Norgate’s design for two similar letters sent in August 1632 (Charles I [28 & 29]; figure 8).

Charles also loved the theater, as had his mother Anne of Denmark and, of course, his brother Henry. Twenty-five masques and 368 plays were staged at court during the first fifteen years of his reign, most of them between 1630 and 1640, the years of personal rule.⁹ The themes and designs for these productions, planned in conjunction with the king and queen who danced and acted in them, reveal the images that Charles wished to project—emperors of ancient Rome and chivalrous knights and ladies of medieval romance that echoed an Elizabethan theme. Charles’s part was often the embodiment of ‘Heroic Virtue’ and Henrietta Maria was variously cast as ‘Divine Beauty’ or ‘Love.’¹⁰ Graham Parry, writing on the Caroline court, describes the masques as a vindication of royal autocracy not so much as an explicit defense of Charles’s political actions, but as a kind of assertion of powers for guiding Great Britain as an example to all nations.¹¹ Inigo Jones, earlier a favorite of Charles’s mother, held important commissions under Charles. Jones had, in fact, when younger, spent several years at the court of Christian IV, Anne’s brother, in Copenhagen

5 *Memorials of affairs of state*, III, 410–411.

6 *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. Rev. Julius Hutchinson, p. 127.

7 Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s Physician*.

8 Giambattista Della Porta, *De humana physiognomonica* (Turin, 1586). Interest in physiognomy was widespread in the early modern period. See Colin Jones, “French Crossings: 111. The Smile of the Tiger,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2012, pp. 10–12 and n. 12.

9 Carleton, *Charles I*, p. 149.

10 Parry, *Golden Age*, p. 184.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 184.



FIGURE 8 8a. Charles I to Patriarch Filaret, 12 August 1632, RGADA, F. 35, op. 2, no. 64; 8b. Giambattista Della Porta, *De Humana physiognomonia*, (Turin, 1586), p. 19; 8c. Royal Coat of Arms, James I, RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 33; 8d. Heraldic Lions, Boutell's *Heraldry*, p. 65.

before joining the Stuarts in England. In London he designed masques and entertainments for James and Anne and eventually the pageantry for the funerals of both.

Almost immediately on assuming the throne in 1625 Charles translated his passion for art and architecture into practical plans for rebuilding parts of London, and in these designs we find the earliest public expression of his conception of kingship linked to the imperial image that was given explicit expression in the royal letters of the 1630s inscribed and limned by Norgate. His first proclamation issued at the time of his accession followed the text of the title used by his father in claiming for himself the ‘Crowne imperiall of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.’¹² Subsequently, by proclamation even before his official coronation, Charles pronounced London the capital of his government where “forreigne Ambassadors and Strangers of great State and eminencie” would comingle in the streets close by the “usuall residence of His Majesties Court.”¹³ He envisioned “the present estate of the City of London as being the King’s Chamber, the Seate Imperiall of this Kingdom, and renowned over all parts of the Christian world.”¹⁴ Perhaps the inspiration for the plan came from Ben Johnson’s having named the City *Nova Roma* for James’s triumphant entrance into the united empire (unofficially) of Britain when Charles was but a child and still in Scotland.¹⁵ Whatever the origin of the idea, Charles fervently embraced it and dated his letters to the tsar and the patriarch after August 1632 as “from our imperial city of London and in our royall palace there,” or from any other ‘imperial’ city where he might be. (When the French ambassador arrived, during the king’s absence from London in 1634 he was told that the place of his majesty’s residing was always to be judged the seat of empire.)¹⁶ The truth of that remark was proved in 1642 when Charles wrote to the Tsar from “our imperial city of York.”¹⁷ (Charles I [41].) The crowning glory of London was to be the cathedral church and, echoing the proclamation for the city, in the commission for rebuilding St. Paul’s, it was called “a principal ornament of that our royal city, the imperial seat and chamber of this our kingdom.”¹⁸ Inigo Jones was chosen architect for that undertaking. He was the only architect practicing

12 *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, I, p. 3 (no. 2).

13 *Ibid.*, p. 20 (no. 9).

14 Royal Proclamation, 2 May 1625. *Ibid.*, II, p. 21 (no. 9).

15 Strong, *Coronation*, p. 265.

16 *The Notebooks of John Finet*, p. 164.

17 See Charles I [41], below.

18 Jansson, “The Impeachment of Inigo Jones.”

in England at the time who had studied Roman antiquities from life, travelling widely in Italy with Andrea Palladio's books as a guide.¹⁹

Charles found in the Roman architectural ideas of proportion (harmony) and balance the symbols of strength and empire appropriate for his capital city London and its national Cathedral of St. Paul, and, indeed, for the court and the king himself. The rebuilding of St. Paul's, begun in 1633, was prefigured in 1632 by a court masque produced by Jones and Aurelian Townshend, entitled *Albion's Triumph*. It was set in a Roman Atrium "beyond which were 'other pieces of architecture of a palace royal' drawing the viewer's eyes to Whitehall."²⁰ In it Charles, as Albanactus, was costumed as "a triumphant Roman Emperor."²¹ (See Figure 9.)

Lest anyone would have remembered that his military exploits in the 1620s, the Ile de Rhé and Cadiz, were abysmal failures, it was explained that "the nature of Albanactus's triumph is higher than anything so ordinary as winning a war. He has conquered himself . . . he triumphs over all the Kings and Queens that went before him. All his passions are his true subjects."²² The masque, and the set in particular, in a purely secular reference, united England with imperial Rome. It was the image with which Charles chose to be identified. As we have seen, by 1631 he had already begun signing his letters as from the 'Imperial City.' They were prefaced by Van Dyck's 1633 portrait of Charles I riding through a triumphal arch on horse back that was hung in St. James's at the end of a gallery surrounded by portraits of Roman emperors painted by Giulio Romano and Titian.²³

Roman Emperors were also important in creating a past for the Church of England. A series of ecclesiastical writers at the end of the sixteenth century, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury (d. 1571) in particular, attempted to unravel the medieval dilemmas of the conflicting authorities of the emperor, the pope, various kings and the church. Frances Yates in her book, *Astrea*, provides details of their arguments and states that "one can hardly over-emphasize the importance for the understanding of Tudor and Stuart symbolism of the fact that the divine right of kings to rule over both church and state was a derivation from the claims of Roman Emperors to be represented in the councils of the church."²⁴

19 Ibid., p. 720.

20 Ibid., p. 731.

21 Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, II, 471; Ollard, *Image of the King*, p. 34.

22 Ibid.

23 Strong, *Van Dyck*, pp. 24–25.

24 Yates, *Astrea*, pp. 41–45.



FIGURE 9 9a. Charles I to Tsar Michael, 19 August 1632, RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 66; 9b. Jacques Androuet, *Oeuvre de Jacques Androuet dit du Cerceau* (n.p.); 9c. *Albanactus in Albions Triumph*, *Orgel and Strong*, 11, 471.

Reference to an imperial image was not limited to architecture and court theater. Earlier one had been made in a parliamentary debate over the impeachment of Charles's favorite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. In comparing the duke to Sejanus, the commander of the Praetorian Guard who had used that position to exact favors from and wield great influence over Emperor Tiberius, Sir John Eliot had underscored Charles's role as Tiberius. To the king and parliamentarians of both Houses schooled in the classics the analogy was not lost. Perhaps, though, of more impact was that Eliot was one of the first to place Charles's imperial image outside the art world and into the arena of current politics and the forum of Parliament. Having chosen the wrong emperor, however, Eliot was imprisoned, in part for those words, where he died. (Van Dyke, on the other hand, in his portraits of the King on horseback, fashioned Charles as Marcus Aurelius, remembered for humanitarian acts and his *Meditations* that were wildly popular in England at this time.)

During the whole period from the attack on the duke in 1626 through the following Parliament, tensions between that body and the Crown were growing. Charles now expressed his dislike of the weekly printed news letters and corantos circulating in the countryside, fearful of their inciting popular opinion against the crown. In a letter signed by Secretary Conway the king declared to the Stationers that all of these printed sources were henceforth to be perused by Georg Rudolph Weckherlin, his private secretary, who also served as general secretary to the secretaries of state. In 1630 Weckherlin was granted a license for printing and the following year required to take an oath of loyalty, not dissimilar to the oaths of supremacy and allegiance required of officeholders, that he would “bear allegiance” to the king and “keep secrets properly.”²⁵ The Crown’s response was not only to have Weckherlin personally oversee domestic publications but also to require that textual inscription and limning of royal letters destined for the East be done by Norgate’s hand alone.

The first session of the Parliament convened in March 1628 was prorogued in June. The duke of Buckingham was assassinated in August that year and Parliament was reconvened in January 1629. Immediately members began debating anew matters touching the King’s power to tax. Reports of the debates in the House of Commons reached Charles, who then dissolved the body, blaming the lawyers and common law judges in the lower house for exercising a new found independence “to take upon them[selves] to decry the opinions of judges.”²⁶

Thus began England’s rule by a king without the balance of the institution of Parliament. After this we see an almost immediate change in the design of the letters to Russia. That sent in April 1629 and undoubtedly limned before the dissolution of Parliament in March that year, carries all of the traditional stylized symbols of state surrounded by gold scroll work embellished with gold leaf (Charles I [7]). In May 1631, in a letter sent two months after the royal warrant to Norgate there is a radical change in wording and design. The king’s titles now revert to the enumeration into four kingdoms as ‘Great Britain’ is supplanted with ‘England and Scotland’. In the design we see swirling Acanthus leaves and grotesque motifs borrowed from the Italian. There is a new freedom of expression in the design and the absence of the hitherto standardized emblems of state, although there may have been a coat of arms at the top border, many years ago it was cut off of the document (Charles I [21]). The letter signals a change in design that will become more pronounced in the course of the decade. Charles continued to rely on his ministers (always of his choosing)

25 For the oath, see B.L. Add. 72439, no. 9. See also, Aylmer, *King’s Servants*, p. 146.

26 Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, II, Appendix, p. 7.

rather than becoming more involved in the everyday workings of government and diplomacy and he also continued to rely on trading companies for information about foreign countries, commerce, and policies. In the early 1630s when England suffered a succession of poor harvests, the crown turned to the Muscovy Company as it sought to import grain from Russia, and depended heavily on those merchants for liaison with the tsar in this regard (Charles I [5, 9, 10, 13–17, 21]).

At the end of the decade the Bishops' wars with Scotland were over and the Treaty of Pacification signed in Berwick on 18 June 1639. Charles, now destitute for money, summoned Parliament in the spring of 1640 but dissolved it within three weeks, convening another in the autumn wherein opposition to the crown intensified as the members of what came later to be called the 'Long Parliament' began drawing a Remonstrance of grievances against the king. Charles left London and raised his standard at Nottingham on 22 August 1642, proclaiming on his battle flag that subjects 'Give Caesar his Due.'²⁷ Between the time that the king left London until his execution the country was preoccupied with war and little engaged with the politics and policies of Europe. From 1642 until January 1649 there were only three letters to the tsar (Charles I [42, 43, 44]). How and where these were prepared and signed by the king remains a mystery.

Secretaries of State and Master of Ceremonies

From the beginning of his reign Charles had followed the course of his father in using and strengthening the offices of the secretaries of state for drafting royal correspondence, negotiating treaties, maintaining alliances, and keeping peace. The secretaries, in the sense of being advisers, played a significant part in policy making and oversaw the administrative end of carrying it through. They were also often members of the Privy Council. In both capacities they had the ear of the king and with it, one could say, a degree of executive authority. Gerald Aylmer, who provides the only detailed, modern study of *The King's Servants*, places "the Council, the Secretaries of State, and the Seal" just below the king as they were, he claims, "the core or spine of the system."²⁸

Sir Edward Conway, appointed by James, was kept on after his death and provided the necessary transition in the secretary's office for the new government. Conway's Entry Books of letters dispatched from 1623–1628 include a

²⁷ *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, 11, 797–799; Carlton, *Charles I*, p. 245.

²⁸ Aylmer, *King's Servants*, pp. 13–16, 31.

calendar of the international correspondence with which he was engaged during those years.²⁹ Sir John Coke was appointed secretary of state by Charles in autumn 1625 and quickly revealed his interest and abilities with domestic affairs and particularly with naval business. An MP for Cambridge University in 1626 and 1628, he was also responsible for representing crown policy in Commons, under Charles a job “becoming specifically attached to the position of Secretary.”³⁰ Dudley Carlton, Viscount Dorchester, formerly having served as ambassador to Italy, Vienna, and the United Provinces, was appointed secretary of state in 1628 and held the office until his death in 1632. Because of his wide experience on the continent, Dorchester was primarily responsible for foreign policy and apparently “helped considerably to better England’s status abroad” after the fiascos of Cadiz and the Isle of Rhé.³¹ Nevertheless, under Charles, as under his father, the principal secretaries were still “private servants acting under direct and detailed orders” from the Crown.³² It is believed that for most of his life Charles signed letters and treaties personally without resorting to using a stamp as had his father in old age.³³ I think however, that the signature on his letter to the tsar in 1648, sent from Carrisbrooke Castle, may have been penned by his secretary.

Dorchester’s death in 1632 necessitated Coke’s filling in until the appointment of Archbishop Laud’s recommendation, Sir Frances Windebank, was cleared. During that time Weckherlin, began working more closely with the secretaries in preparing drafts and letters, a task with which he had some experience having been Latin secretary from 1623 and having worked in the foreign office with both Conway and Dorchester. His letter books survive from 1613 through the late 1640s.³⁴ On Coke’s retirement in 1640 Sir Henry Vane took his place. About this time a formal division was made in the office between the two principal secretaries that was the precursor to the Northern and Southern departments that were set up during the Restoration and remained until 1742. In 1640 matters related to Spain, Flanders, Italy, and Ireland were under

29 NA SP 14/214.

30 Evans, *Principal Secretary*, p. 86.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

33 Aylmer, *King’s Servants*, p. 18.

34 Weckherlin Letter books, BL, Add 72426–72440 (Trumbull MSS.). There are many diaries, letter books for post sent and received, personal correspondence, etc., for Weckherlin that are still in process of being cataloged. Check the Trumbull calendar for the Weckherlin entries.

Windebank's jurisdiction while those connected with France, Holland, the Baltic, Germany, and Turkey were in the hands of Vane.³⁵

The assistants to the secretaries became more important as the business of the office evolved. William Wilde served under Conway and Dorchester, one Mr. Thacker under Coke, and Sidney Bere under Vane.³⁶ The language secretaries for Latin, French, and German continued to work closely with the principal secretaries and their assistants in translating documents and writing less formal correspondence. In a number of instances their letter books are extant and reveal the extent of their responsibilities, sometimes even including rough drafts of letters and notes of meetings.³⁷

Charles maintained a diplomatic interest and correspondence with potentates of the Eastern empires initiated and supported by trading companies. Evidence of this is gleaned from the twenty-four letters to Russia and from entries in the State Papers and the secretary's Entry Books. As with those of James, however, many of the letters have been lost. At the time of the negotiations over privileges with Turkey in 1640–1641, for example, one might think that decorated royal letters had been sent to the sultan but to date none have been found.

The office of master of ceremonies created by James was expanded during Charles's reign. Sir John Finet, who held the office from March 1627 until July 1641 kept five small journals or notebooks both as a record of procedures for visiting ambassadors to the Stuart court and as a business record of expenditures for lodging, diet, and, most importantly, gifts. The latter was of critical importance in order that reciprocity be maintained in the value of the return gift. His first two notebooks, covering 1612–1628, were printed by James Howell in 1656, under the title *Finetti Philoxenis: Som choice observations of Sir John Finet, knight, and Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings, touching the Reception, and Precedence, the treatment and Audience, the Puntillios and Contests of Forren Ambassadors in England*. The last three books that cover the period between 1628 and 1641 were edited and published in 1987. From these notebooks we learn how important the ceremonies were for Charles personally and how actively he participated in all aspects of them, from the decorations at the audiences to the seating at tables and in carriages. This interest in 'presentation,' as I have said, appears to have extended to his letters.

35 Evans, *Principal Secretary*, p. 102.

36 Ibid., pp. 155, 162–163.

37 Ibid., pp. 170–171, nn. 1–4; Appendix v.

We are told that Charles was “sensitive to even the smallest details” of ceremonial protocols and decorum at Whitehall.³⁸ He formalized the procedure that required there be a pattern of three welcomes in the king’s name for visiting diplomats: the first at Gravesend, the second at Greenwich (or elsewhere if the ambassador was not ‘Extraordinary’), and the third welcome to be given by the younger son of a peer and to take place at the diplomat’s assigned place of residence while in England. Agents, of lesser standing than ambassadors, were to receive one welcome.³⁹ Regardless of rank, the audience with the king was the apex of the diplomatic mission, and Charles assured that preceding the audience a ceremonial procession through the picture gallery would show off his collection of paintings. That perambulation portrayed vividly his passion for painting and his preference for the world of art over the world of politics. It also underscored his desire that visiting dignitaries know that.

Charles maintained an active correspondence with Russia until the outbreak of the civil wars. For the twenty-four years that he reigned I have found forty-two decorated letters, or about one and three-quarters as many as during the previous reign. The letters are all to Russia, ten having been sent to the patriarch and thirty-two to the tsar. I have found no decorated royal letters sent elsewhere although there is much evidence in Weckherlin’s diary, essentially a calendar of the letters he compiled and wrote for the king, to indicate that such letters were sent.

He mentions two royal letters for Russia. The first is 25 February 1636/37:

*Item, I did write for his Majesty’s hand [i.e., his signature] the painted letter sent to the Moscovia emperor for one Halloway, procured by Mr. Cartwright, commanded by Mr. Secretary.*⁴⁰

The second mention is the entry for 8, 9, 10 December the same year:

I did write and (his Majesty having signed the same), seal, and deliver a letter (painted) to the Grand Emperor of Russia, and a fair painted Latin safe conduct for Mr. John Cartwright.

It is worth noting that in this diary we have an intimate picture of just how close working relations were between the Crown and the secretaries. On 1 January

38 Ibid., p. 5.

39 Ibid., pp. 27–28.

40 B.L., Trumbull MSS., Weckherlin diaries (25 February 1636/37). Possibly the letter in plate 10.



FIGURE 10 10a. Charles I to Tsar Michael, 7 March 1636/7, RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 70; 10b. Jacques Androuet, Oeuvre de Jacques Androuet dit du Cerceau (n.p.).

1636, for example, Weckherlin writes that “This day in the morning whilst his Majesty was putting on his clothese I was called in and presented from M. Gerbier the Elector of Tryers [*sic*] picture, which his Majesty well liked.”⁴¹

Markedly more so than in James’s letters, those of Charles through the thirties grow increasingly more obsequious, pressing incessantly for alliance and privilege. Part of the tone was the result of extreme grain shortages in England already apparent by 1628, and part a reflection of the growing competition with the Dutch, particularly for Russian naval stores but also for a share in the business of the Russian cloth markets. Charles was desperate to maintain alliances on the continent as his popularity at home weakened. Not coincidentally, the ornamentation on the letters to Russia reached its height in the 1630s when the need to purchase grain was most extreme. The finest examples of limning can be found in the letters of 1629–1646 (Charles I [6–43]).

Eleven of them request to buy grain from Russia ([5, 9–17, 21]). In exchange Charles promised muskets to the tsar ([20, 23]) and English soldiers ([23]), and suggested that the grain be paid for with the money owed to England for

41 Ibid. (1 January 1636/37).

the service of her subjects with the Shuisky forces against the king of Poland in 1610.

Many of the letters plead on behalf of English merchants for access to a better bar (barre) or channel into the port in Archangel ([7, 19, 23, 26]). Charles also requested a remittance of the fine on tar shipped for England ([5, 17, 18]) and in 1637 asked to buy 4,000 hogsheads of tar for the English navy. The Crown, with the Muscovy Company, continued to plead for better privileges and Charles also requested a safe conduct for the English going to Persia that would enable them to return overland through Russia ([18]). Many of the letters address several issues and some of them relate to particular persons, merchants or military, seeking introduction to the tsar.

Letters (Charles I)

Printed below are the extant royal decorated letters from Charles I to Mikhail Fyodorovich Romanov (reigned 21 February 1613–12 July 1645), Aleksei Mikhailovich Romanov (reigned 12 July 1645–29 January 1676), and Patriarch Filaret Nikitich (Fyodor Nikitich Romanov). For the corresponding and related printed letters from Mikhail and Aleksei to Charles I, c.1626–1634, in Russian, with a brief English précis of each letter, see S. Konovalov, *OSP*, VIII (1958), pp. 117–156 and for those from 1634–1638, *Ibid.*, IX (1960), pp. 32–63.

For the editorial conventions used in transcribing the letters, see above, p. 4. The references in square brackets below are to the letters of Charles I included in this chapter, unless otherwise designated. The full titles of Tsar Michael are given in letter [1] below; for Tsar Aleksei's full titles see Charles II [1].

[1] 1 July 1625, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 36, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 62 × 65.5 cm.* Charles by the grace of God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.

TO the most high, mighty, and right noble Prince, the Great Lord Emperor and Great Duke *Mikhail Phedorowich* of all Russia sole commander of Volodoemer: Moskoe, Novogrod: King of Cazan, King of Astrocan, King of Siberia; Lord of Vobskey, and great Duke of Smolensky; Twerskey, Vogorskey, Permeskey, Vateskey, Bolgarskey, and others: Also Lord and great Duke of Novogorod in the lower Countreys, Cherniguskey, Rezanskey, Polotskey, Rastoveskey, Yareslaveskey, Belarzarskey, Leyflanskey, Udorskey, Obdorskey, Condinskey, and of all the Northerne parts Lord and Commander. Also Lord of the Countrey of Eyverskey, Cartalinskey, and King of Grazinskey, of Caberdinskey, Cherckaskey and of the Dukedomes of Igorskey and of many other kingdomes Lord and Conquerour: Greeting;

Most excellent Prince, most deare Brother and Frend; Having called to Remembrance the Auncient and Perfect Amitie which hath bene maintained betweene Our Noble Progenitors and their Kingdomes and continued with a singular affection passing the love of Brethren in the Person of Our deare Father of most blessed Memorie, *James* late King of theis famous Kingdomes of great Brittain, France and Ireland, whose blessed Soule it hath pleased *God* to take to his Mercie and in the Person of Your *Maiestie* Our deere Brother the great Lord Emperour and great Duke *Michael Phedorowich* of all Russia sole Commander. Wee could not otherwise satisfy Ourself unlesse with the first opportunities after Our Succession [to the] Crowne and [tear in MS] of Our deere Father of ever blessed Memorie, and after Our happie Alliance with the Excellent Princesse *Maria*, Sister to Lewis [Louis XIII of France] the most Christian King Our deare Brother.⁴² Wee did by Our Letters expresse Our hartie Congratulation for Your Maiesties happie and peaceable Government over Your great Kingdom and Dominions of Russia, etc. Wherein as Wee hartily reioyce, so Wee hold it verie agreeable to Honor and Princely Correspondency to expresse Our Royall affection and desire to the continuance of that good Intelligence, with your Excellent Maiestie Our deere brother, and with Our Crownes, Kingdoms, and Dominions which formerly hath been [*illegible*] Our deere Father of most blessed Memorie and Your Maiestie, which also Wee hartily desire may daily increase between Us and Our Posterity forever.

And forasmuch most deere Brother as even that Princely Affection of Our deere Father, to your Maiestie and to your Kingdomes, hath also descended upon Us as an Inheritance in Succession, Wee doe with like reciprocall Affection condole with your Maiestie the losse and death of that worthy and noble Ladie of blessed Memory Your Imperiall Maiesties most deerly affected Emperesse and Consort Our deere Sister, wherein We wish unto your Maiesty Our deere Brother all comfort in the *Holy Ghost*.⁴³ It remains that Wee lovingly acknowledge to Your Maiestie Our deere Brother the noble graces and favours vouchsafed to Our Marchants in the free course of their Trade within Your Maiesties Dominions and Your gracious acceptance of their faithfull and ready services to Your Maiestie and to Your noble Progenitors from the first of their Discovery of that Trade by the waie of Saint Nicholas, wherein as Wee doe freely tender the like favour and freedome to any of Your Subiects in Our Dominions, so Wee intreate Your Maiestie that for Our sake You wilbe pleased to continue and renue those gracious Priviledges and Immunities to such of Our Marchants and their Fellowes as shalbe licensed by Us to trade in severall, and

42 Henrietta Maria, 1609–1669; Queen consort of Charles I, 1625–1649.

43 Maria Vladimirovna Dolgorukova (1601–1625), first wife of Tsar Michael; she died in childbirth.

everie man apart by himselfe, which by Your Maiesties grace and favour and by the grace and favour of Your noble Progenitors they have formerly enioyed within Your Maiesties dominions, trading in a ioynt-Stock, whose names Wee have ordered our Agent Fabian Smith to present to Your Maiestie,⁴⁴ the same Persons being all members of the selfe same Corporation unto which it pleased Your Maiestie and Your noble Progenitors to grant the said Priviledges, which course of Trade in severall Wee have thought verie fit and convenient to further, as well to expresse Our hartie desire of the welfare and commoditie of Your Maiesties People and Kingdomes as the good Encouragment of Our owne subjects in all their good Designes who otherwise through the many Disasters and Losses fallen upon them in their Trade were at a Poynt utterly to have deserted and left the same. *Wee have* commanded Our Agent Fabian Smith now residing in Your Countrey (in whose Fidelity and Experience Wee have good Confidence) to attend Your Maiestie in this Businesse, and to performe all such other Services which Your Maiestie shall require as hath bene heeretofore, and Wee praie Your Maiestie to give Credit to what shalbe delivered You concerning Our affaires by Our sayd Agent. *And soe* Wee leave Your Majestie to the protection of *Almightie God*. From our Palace of Westminster the first Daie of Julie in the yeare of *Our Lord God* one thousand six hundred twentie five. And of Our Raigne of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, the Firste.

Charles R.

Introducing himself as King of England by hereditary succession (he was not to be crowned until 2 February 1625/26) Charles spoke to Michael as a brother within the family of Christian Kings. The language of brotherhood would continue through both of their reigns. Charles inherited the Crown on the death of James in March 1625. His wife, Henrietta Maria, sister to Louis XIII, arrived in England three months later having been married to Charles by proxy in Paris.

Originally there may have been borders around this letter that were later cut off. The absence of other symbols of state and the singular display of the royal arms encircled in a wreath of laurel leaves within the King's initial 'C' relate to the fact that Charles was not yet crowned. The crimson red 'C' is within a square block grounded in blue that is laid with fine diagonal lines in gold forming diamonds that frame fleurs-de-lis.

[2] 1 February 1627, F. 35, op. 2, no. 37, RGADA, To Tsar Mikail. Parchment. 42.75 × 57 cm.

Charles by the grace of God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.

44 Regarding Smith, see Chapter 5, n. 48.

To the most high, mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], our dearest brother and Friend, Salutacions,

Most excellent Prince most deare Brother and Friend, wee doe well understand by your Maiesties letters unto us in March last, how acceptable our letters of Princely congratulation were to your Majestie, our dearest Brother; what singler content your Maiestie tooke in our peaceable entrance and happie Succession unto the Crownes and Kingdoms our our late deare Father, King *James* of ever blessed memorie, and what royall affection you beare to the conservation of that Princely league and mutuall frendshippe, so happily continued betweene our said deare Father and your Maiestie, our good brother. *In* the next place Your Maiestie, together with your noble father, our deare Cozen and Friend, the great Lord Feloret Nikitich, the holie Patriarch of Mosco and of all Russia are pleased to expresse your good affection towards us in the persons of our loving subiects, our Marchants trading into your Majesties kingdoms, by graunting them gracious Priviledges of free Commerce and Trade in all your Dominions. *Theis* your Maiesties princely expressions by your love and good will to us and those reall acts of grace and favour to our Marchants, as we do verie well knowe, proceed of your intire affection to us and our Kingdoms, so we, being no lesse carefull to preserve, then our deare father was studious to begin this strickt alliance and brotherly amitie between yours and our Crownes, Do promise in the word of a King to answeere those sweet effects of brotherly love and respect in your Maiesty by all the like roiall expressions on our part (in what soever maie tend to the happie conservation of that auncient League of Love and Amitie and increase of all good Intelligence betweene your Maiestie and us and betweene our Crownes and People); we thought it therefore verie fit to take this opportunitie to congratulate with your Maiestie the firme and settled estate and constant continuance of your happie raigne and peaceable government over those your great Kingdoms of Russia etc., As also your happie Coniunction and Marriage with that great and noble Lady, your Maiesties most deare affected Empresse and Consort, wherein we wish unto your Maiestie, our good Brother, all perfection of happiness.⁴⁵

For that point of your Maiesties lettres, concerning the furnishing of your Treasury with the Commodities of our Kingdoms and the abuse by falsifieng of wares by divers stragling Traders, that have recourse into your Maiesties Dominions, we haue given charge to our servant, Sir John Merick [Merrick],

45 Evdokiia Luk'ianovna Streshneva (1608–1645), Tsar Michael's second wife. Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*, p. 78.

Knight,⁴⁶ Governor of the company of our Marchants, to take care heerein, who we do not doubt in his due obedience to our Comand will as well heere as our Agent Fabian Smith in Russia (to whom wee have given the like command), take good course heereafter both for the reasonable furnishing of your Maiesties Treasurie, as hath beene heretofore, and for suppressing those stragling Traders, the Authors of such abuses. *Your* Majestie our good Brother wilbe pleased to take notice that according to your princely letters unto us by the Grecian Friers, Kirila [Kiryll] the Archimandrett of Arkania and Gregorie [Gregory] the Archimandrett of Savona Monastery and their fellowes, we have receaved them with all humantie and favor, admitting them to our princely Hand and giving them that freedome and entertainment during the time of their stay in our Kingdoms and friendly dispatch home to their owne Contrey as might testifie our good respect to your roiall recomendacion.⁴⁷

Now, most deare Brother, as nothing sutes better to our princely and brotherly Amitie then thus to imbrace all good occasions with your Maiestie, and finding by long and certaine observacion and experience, that the inlarging of the intercourse of Trade and Commerce betwene our Contreys and Dominions will much conduce to the honor and commoditie of both our Kingdoms and Dominions and to the cherishing of the mutuall Love and Amity betwene the same, we thought good to take into our especiall consideracion an Overture, formerly made by a principall Noble-man of your Maiesties Court to our Agent Fabian Smith, concerning the trade of Silk to be yearely brought out of Persia through your Maiesties Dominions (James I [9]); and for that cause we have called our Marchants that trade into your Kingdoms before us and declared unto them, how earnestly we desire that this Trade of Silk should be settled in your Maiesties Dominions rather then in any other Kingdome; and finding them not only conformable to our mind and pleasure heerein, but verie propensive and ready also to any thing that may tend to the advancement of your Maiesties service, we held it very reasonable for their more incouragment to grant and impart unto them this our roiall assistance by our Letters to your Maiestie our deere Brother, heerby lovingly intreating your Maiestie to vouchsafe them your princely favour in the particulars heereunto apparteining.

46 See Chapter 5, n. 37.

47 The two Archimandrites, Kiryll and Gregory, had visited Russia on behalf of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and were returning home via England. Tsar Michael had asked Charles to care for them on their way. S. Konovalov, *OSP*, VIII (1958), p. 118. Mikhail to Charles, 9 June 1626.

And because divers of our Marchants, since the graunting of the last gracious Priviledge by your Maiestie our good Brother, are departed this life and others againe lefte their course of Trade and dealing in Marchandize, we lovingly intreate your Maiestie, that as you were pleased at our instance and request to grant them these Priviledges, so you will now also be pleased for our sake to strengthen the same with such immunities and Favours (the Trade being managed in severall and apart), as was formerly granted by your Maiestie, at the instance and request of our deare Father of ever blessed memory, when the Trade was carried in a Joint-stock, and that such others of our Marchants as are free of that Companie, may be incerted in the Priviledge in place of those which are dead and have lefte the Trade, wherby the same may with better effect be managed and carried by them and their successors.

And whereas we have understood, that some of your Maiesties officers, not well understanding the princely Priviledges granted by your Maiestie and your noble Predecessors unto our Marchants, in contemplacion of the Amitie betwene our Crownes and Kingdoms on both parts, have lately taken of some of our Marchants the Tolle and Custome due by other Strangers not comprehended in our mutuall princely League, we pray your Maiestie our good Brother to give order for the rectifieng of this error by repayment of the Sommes so taken, contrary to your Maiesties intents in that behalf. *And* in regard the straightnes of roome in our said Marchants houses, by reason of their trade in severall, is such that they cannot with conveniency manage their Trade in one house, in a place we pray your Maiestie our good Brother to grant them libertie to stand in severall houses, everie one apart by himself or to grant them such Grounds in the severall Places of their Trade as may conveniently serve to build houses for such of them as cannot stand in the houses already given them by your Maiestie.

Wee thanck your Maiestie our good Brother for your grace and bountie to our subiect Doctor Arthur Dee, servant and Physition to your Maiestie by whose humble acknowledgments we have good testimony of your great and Gracious favor towards him.⁴⁸ We pray your Maiestie for the continuance of this your grace and favor during his stay in your Maiesties service, which we

48 Ibid. Mikhail to Charles, 19 December 1626. Arthur Dee, son of John Dee, had been sent to the tsar by James I. Included in the Instructions for Aleksei Ziuzin on his embassy to England in 1614 was a Memorandum promising that any English or Scottish doctors or Apothecaries who served the tsar in Russia would be able to "return home freely without any hindrance with all of their servants and goods." *England and the North*, pp. 138 and 193 n. 150. See also [4]. Dee returned to England in 1633. See [31]. See also, Appleby, "Dr. Arthur Dee," pp. 32–55.

are the rather moved to desire, both in regard of his faithfull observance to our deare Mother of ever blessed memory all the time of his service about her roiall Person [Anne of Denmark, wife of James I] and for the general approbation of his worth by our Colledge of Doctours, for which also our deare Father of ever blessed memorie held him worthy of his speciall commendacion to your Maiesty.⁴⁹

Wee have purposely sent to your Maiesties Court this gentleman Richard Swift, our special Messenger, one formerly imployed to your Maiestie our good Brother by our said deare Father of ever blessed memorie, and have ordered him to ioyne with our Agent Fabian Smith in the conduct of our affaires and to returne unto us with such busines as shalbe occasioned from your Maiestie. We pray your Maiestie our good Brother to give full credit unto them in what they have to propound and negotiate in our name as we shall upon all occasions readdily do to any thus commended from your Maiestie. It remaines that we give to your Maiestie our good Brother all princely assurance, aswell on our part of the like grace and favor in our Kingdoms, to any of your Subiects that shalbe recommended from your Maiestie, as on the part and behalf of our Marchants, that your Maiestie shall find them persons everie way so humane and ready to answeere your Maiesties expectation, and so faithfull in their performances as greater shall not be found from any people or Nation negotiating with your Maiestie or people.

And thus we wish unto your Majestie long and happie felicity on Earth and everlastinge in Heaven. *Given* at our Pallace of Whithall the first day of Februarie in the Yeare of our Lord 1626, and of our raigne of great Brittainne, France and Ireland, the second.

Charles R.

This is the first decorated letter to the tsar after Charles's coronation and it signals that he is King, State, and Crown (see [1]) and clarifies beyond any doubt England's desire to maintain a Russian alliance or League of Peace and Amity. Charles's short mention of congratulations on the tsar's marriage may indicate that he knew little of the bride and her family.

The decoration displays motifs of all the components of the English state. The borders, ruled off by a fine brown and gold line and stippled with gold dots frame the letter on three sides. At the center top is a cartouche with the royal coat of arms supported on the left by the crowned English lion and on the right by the Scottish unicorn, underneath is a sash but the inscription is not readable. At the far corners are decorated crowned shields—on the left fleurs-de-lis and on

49 Regarding foreign doctors in Russia, see Sabine Dumschat, *Ausländische Mediziner im Moskauer Russland* (Stuttgart, 2006).

the right the arms of Scotland. Between the center and corner on each side, surrounded by decorative gold scrollwork are, on the left a crowned lion standing on a crimson crown and on the right a crowned lion seated on a crimson crown and holding the sword of state and a scepter, by each lion are the initials 'CR' (Carolus Rex). On the left border in the center is a crowned thistle, below it a crowned shield displaying the three lions passant guardant of England. On the right side center is a crowned fleur-de-lis for France, below which is a crowned azure shield displaying the harp of Ireland. The ground is stippled. The gold scrollwork across the top and on each side is symmetrical and appears to have been traced from a template or pattern book. The ends of the side borders are decorated with grey balls that were probably originally blue.

The initial 'C' within the borders on the upper left of the letter, encircles a crowned lion holding the royal coat of arms. The rest of the title, "Charles By The," continues across the first line written in gold against a red ground cross-hatched in a diamond pattern with gold fleurs-de-lis in the diamonds.

[3] 1 February 1627, F. 35, op. 2, no. 38, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 35.4 × 46.5 cm. For the reply, see S. Konovalov, *OSP*, VIII (1958), pp. 119, 130–133. Charles by the grace of God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith, etc.

TO the most excellent and reverend great Lord *Feloret Neketich* the holy Patriarch of Mosco and of all Russia, Our most deare and loving Cozen and Frende, Greeting, *Most* excellent great Lord most deare Cosen and Frende,

When Wee turne Our Eyes to the happie Raigne of Our deare Father, Kinge *James* of ever blessed memorie, Wee find no forraigne Acte amonge many performed in his time fuller of Consolation and more worthy Our Imitation then the Princely Allyance maintained in the Royall Persons of Our said deare Father and Our good Brother the great Lord, Emperour, and greate Duke *Michael Feodorowich* of all Russia, sole Commander, Your renowned Sonne, wherewith all Wee finde conioyned the Royall Interchange of Princely Congratulation betweene Him and Your Grace Our good Cozen and Frend, a matter likewise wherein We have taken greate Pleasure and Contentment. And forasmuch, most deare Cosen and Frend, as Wee together with the Crownes and Kingdomes of Our deare Father doe happily inheritte that Princely Alliance with Our good Brother Your renowned Sonne, Wee also heartily desire the like with Your Selfe Our good Cosen, Wishing it maie ever remain honorable and inviolable between Us And in this Our Affection Wee could not omitte heartily to Congratulate Your happie Health and Welfare, as also your establishment in that Place and Dignity which you now enioy sutable to Your great Wisedome and high Descent. And the happie estate of those Kingdomes in this special

Mercie of *God* that brought Your Grace Our good Cosen from that moste uniuste Captivitie and restored you to your Countrey now as much blessed by Your Fatherly Benefits unto it as formerly afflicted by your sufferings for it.

In the next place, Wee cannot but thanck your Grace Our good Cosen for your abundant Favour extended to Our Marchants trading into the Kingdomes of Russia and for Your gracious Protection of them in their Trade there, whereof (besides the humble Relation of Our Servaunt Sir John Merike [Merrick], Governour of that Company and our Marchants and Agent Fabian Smith)⁵⁰ Our Eyes have seene and Our Selfe can wnesse Your great Affeccon in that reall Acte of the laste gracious Priviledge of free Commerce graunted them at Our instance and Requeste, besides Your other gracious Favours towards them ever since Your happie Returne into Your native Contrey, a Courtesie which as Wee verie well knowe is done for Our sake, soe Wee shall ever thanckfullie retaine it in Our Princely Memorie and wilbe ready to deserve the same at Your Hands as Occasion shalbee offered.

Wee prairie Your Grace to continue your special Protection of Our said Marchants and Agente in theis their commendable Designes, whereby they also shall take incouragement to goe on in their faithfull Services to his Imperiall Maiestie Our deare Brother and to Your Grace Our good Cozen in such sorte as We trust there shalbe no cause of Repentance of the Favours done to Persons of so humane and thanckfull condition. *Wee* have ordered this gentleman Richard Swift⁵¹ Our Messenger to attend Your Grace Our good Cosen with Our Princely addresse of Congratulation and to returne unto Us with such Business as shalbe occasioned from Your Grace.

It remains that Wee pray Your Grace Our good Cosen that as You have ever carried a noble Affection to the Amity and Alliance betweene Our deare Father of ever blessed Memorie and Your renowned Sonne Our good Brother, Soe You will now be pleased to continue the like good Affection to the Amity and Alliance so happily continued between Your renowned Sonne and Us and betweene Our Crownes, Kingdomes and People well understanding of what great moment Your high Authoritie wilbe on this behalf. *And* thus With Our Princelie commendacions, Wee wishe your Grace well and prosperously to fare. *Given* at Our Pallace of Whithall the first day of Februarie in the Yeare of Our Lord 1626, and of our Raigne the second.

⁵⁰ Regarding Merrick and Smith, see Chapter 5, nn. 37 and 48.

⁵¹ Richard swift was sent as an agent in late 1633 but according to this letter and [8] he went earlier to meet with the Patriarch. See Bell, *Handlist*, p. 225; S. Konovalov, *OSP*, VII (1658), pp. 119, 127–130.

Charles R.

The letter is framed on three sides by borders decorated with a pattern of gold scrollwork on a deep brown or black (maybe once blue?) ground stippled in white and ruled off from the text by lines in a gold dot and dash pattern. The initial capital 'C' stands in a square within the border and is designed by the joining of two stylized dolphins head to head whose tails form the top and bottom curves of the 'C'; their heads meeting at the center of the curve are crowned by a small open crown. The dolphins themselves, a symbol of Christianity, are appropriate to the Patriarch. Coming from the mouths of the dolphins are sprigs of red and white Tudor roses, thistle, and fleurs-de-lis which, are the only references to monarchy or state in the limning. The remainder of the first line, "harles By The" is written in gold on the same stippled ground as is the initial.

[4] 2 June 1627, F. 35, op. 2, no. 39, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 63 × 64.5 cm. Charles by the grace of God Kinge of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

TO the moste highe mightie, and right noble Prince, the great Lord, Emperour, and great Duke, *Michaell Phedorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow*, see [1]], Greetings,

Most excellent Prince, most deare Brother and Frend, Having received Your Highnes Letters by Our subiect Doctour Arthur Dee, Your Maiesties Phisition, and by him understanding aswell of Your Maiesties health as the peaceable Estates and Government of those Your great Kingdomes Wee doe therein not only much reioyce but wish a long and happie continuance thereof unto Your Maiestie Our good Brother.⁵² Wee are also informed both by Our said subiect Doctour Dee and by Your Maiesties Letters of Your great favour, respect, and bounty extended towards him for Our sake and the good opinion Your Highness doth retaine of him, both for his sufficiency and abilitie in the famous studdie he professeth and for his carefull diligent and dutifull attendance uppon Your Royall Person, Wherein as Wee cannot omitte to give Your Maiestie manie thancks for the former, soe for the latter to let You knowe how acceptable and pleasinge it is unto Us that either hee or anie other Our subiects by their industry should doe Your Maiestie such Service as to merit Your Royall Favour, and thereby obtaine the continuance of Our Respect and Grace towards them. Wee have now permitted him Our said Subiect to returne unto Your Maiesties Court and Service no way doubting but that by his studious

52 Arthur Dee was a professed Rosicrucian and hermetic physician. Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, p. 285. See above, n. 48.

indeavours and good deportment therein he will still deserve Your Maiesties benignitie towards him, and the good testimony given of him.

And further whereas Wee are given to understande by Our trustie and wel-beloved Servant Sir John Merick [Merrick], Knight, late Ambassadour from Our deare Father of blessed memorie to Your Maiestie Our deare Brother, that You are desirous to have some understanding Persons who have skill and iudgement in Minerals, and have to that purpose written Your Princely Letters whereof Wee had notice by Our Servant Captain John Gilbert sometimes Jeweller to Our deceased Father, and Brother to the late Captain David Gilbert who having humbly intreated Us that Wee would be graciously pleased to suffer and permitte him to repaire into Your Kingdomes to serve Your Maiestie in his Brothers place.⁵³ And for that he hath likewise bene a Traveillour, where he hath attained to the knowledge of Mineralls and other rare inventions Whereof he intendeth to take over with him some Patterns to present to Your Highnes viewe.

As also Wee having permitted one John Martin,⁵⁴ an Artiste, to goe in Companie with Your Maiesties Interpreter Zacharie Micolaont into Germaine and from thence to repaire into Your Princely Dominions to serve Your Maiestie who hath not only iudgement in Mineralls but in the prooving and workinge of them, and in taking a true assaye of all such Mynes as may produce benefitte and furtherance to service. *Wee* therefore in Our Princely Respect to the accomplishment of Your Maiesties Expectations according to Your owne Letter for Men of that condition have sent unto Your Highness the said Captain John Gilbert Our servant and the said John Martin, men esteemed skilfull in Mineralls, Jewels, Mettalls, and the like, and with them some Servants usefull in those Occasions. Hoping that Your Maiestie will entertaine them and for Our sake extend Your Grace and Favour towards them. And to grant unto them or anie of them free License to returne into their owne Contrey upon desire, and as Occasion shall offer itself. *Our* parte shalbe to doe the like, and to answere Your Maiestie Our deare Brothers gracious Inclinacon and Disposition by all Princely offices of Love and affection to any recommended to Us by Your Maiestie. *And* soe Wee leave Your Majestie to the Protection of *Almightie God*, From Our Palace at Westminster the Second Day of June in the Yeare of Our *Lord God* 1627, And of Our Reigne of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, the third.

53 John Gilbert had been a chief engraver at the royal mint in London. Ibid.

54 Probably Jean Martin, "goldsmith, jeweller, and apothecary." Dr. Theodore Mayere apparently was behind Martin's trip to Moscow. Ibid. See Appleby, "*Dr. Arthur Dee*," p. 52, where he is described as a "stonecutter."

Charles R.

Of the three, Dee is returning to Russia. Gilbert, a jeweler, and John [Jean] Martin, a mining specialist, are going for the first time. Ivan IV had requested craftsmen to be sent from England to Russia.⁵⁵ In 1613 Tsar Michael had also requested doctors for Russia.

The letter is written on heavier and less translucent parchment than usually used. It is framed on three sides by borders ruled off from the text with a green line of dots and dashes. At the bottom of each side the initials 'CR' (Carolus Rex) are worked into the scrollwork. The borders end with three pear shaped droplets.

The initial 'C' in a celtic design, surrounds a crowned lion holding the royal arms surrounded by the garter. The design is on a brown ground (originally red but now faded?), patterned with fine gold horizontals forming diamonds that frame gold flowers and that extend the length of the first line on which are the letters "harles By The".

The emblems in the borders are similar to those in [2] but their arrangement is different. At the center top is a cartouche of a crowned royal shield supported by the English lion on the left and the Scottish unicorn on the right. At the top right corner is a blue crowned shield emblazoned with three gold fleurs-de-lis. Between the corner and the center and surrounded by patterned gold scrollwork is a crowned Tudor rose. At the left corner is a crowned shield emblazoned with a red Scottish rampant lion. Between the top left corner and the center, surrounded by gold scrollwork, is a crowned lion standing on a crown. On the left border is a crowned lion seated on a crimson crown and holding the sword of state and scepter; below it is a crowned shield emblazoned with the harp of Ireland on an azure field. On the right border is a single, large, crowned fleurs-de-lis followed by a crowned shield quartered and emblazoned with English lions. All of the shields and emblems are surrounded by patterned gold scrollwork highlighted by red and green.

[5] 12 April 1628, F. 35, op. 2, no. 40, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 52 × 65.5 cm.

Charles by the grace of Almightye God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, defendor of the Christian faith, etc.

To the high and mightie Prince *Michael Pheodorowich* by the grace of God Emperor and great Duke of Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], Health and everlasting happiness,

55 BL Harl. 296, f. 189. See also Tolstoy, *England and Russia*, p. 37. Regarding silversmiths, see also Oman, *English Silver*, Chaps. 1 and 2; regarding doctors, see above, nn. 48 and 49.

Observing with our self in how great freedom and securitie our Marchants have for many yeares continewed theire trade in your dominions, Wee cannot but receive singular contentment therein and assurance of your good affection to maintaine the ancient amitie and frendshipp between our Crownes which on our part Wee do gladly embrace and will endeavor to preserve. And from theise considerations of entercourse betweene our Subiects and good Correspondence betweene our crownes Wee have taken up an affection and desire that there may bee in all iust occasions a free passage of mutual courtesies and respect betweene our persons. And in confidence thereof having occasion to supplie our Selfe out of your Countries with some small quantittes of corn Wee have commanded our Subiect and Servant the Bearer hereof, Robert Syme,⁵⁶ to repaire thither and provide for our use six or seaven shippis lading of corne. Wee do therefore pray you to give leave unto the said Syme to buy and provide the same at the usuall rates for which corne is sould there and transport it hither. And also to give commandment to all your Officers and Subiects not to give him interruption but ayde and assistance in this course of trade. Which wee shall account as a special courtesie and readily acknowledge in any thinge that you shall recommend or request of Us. Given at our Pallace of Westminster the 12th day of Aprill, Anno Domini 1628.

Charles R.

'Corn' was the generic term for 'grain.' See [9].

The borders here are similar to those on earlier letters sent East (see James I [1–5]; Charles I, below, [12, 15]; Fig. 1). It follows the same form in adding 'Christian' to the title, i.e., defender of the 'Christian' faith, etc. Although the scrollwork is not identical to the earlier letters, indicating that it was not traced from the same pattern or drawn from the same template, the style is the same. The large initial 'C' in the first line is decorated as are the words in the remainder of the line, "harles By". The borders are ruled off from the text by fine parallel gold and red lines. These are the only colors in the decoration. The ends of the left and right borders appear unfinished and are without the customary scalloped bottom and hanging balls or droplets. There are no symbols of state on the letter.

[6] 20 April 1629, F. 35, op. 2, no. 41, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 64.25 × 72 cm. Printed in *Britannia & Muscovy*, pp. 214–215.

Charles by the grace of God King of great Brittain, Fraunce, and Ireland Defendor of the Faith, etc.

⁵⁶ Robert Syme was a member of the Company. He became ill on his journey and stayed in Holland, see [17]. Arel, "Muscovy Company," p. 115.

To the most high, mightie and most noble Prince, the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Michael Feodorowich of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], Our dearest Brother, Allie, and Frend, Greeting,

Most excellent Prince, most deare Brother and Frend Wee are given to understand that Our subiecte John Scroope hath for divers yeares paste employed himselfe in Your Maiesties service.⁵⁷ And that it hath pleased you to cast upon him a gracious Eye of favor and good acceptaunce for which (at his Requeste) Wee are willing to take occasion to give You hartie thancks. And that Your Maiestie maie have the better contentment in his Service by the Knowledge of his Worth and [*illegible*]. Wee have also thought fit to let You knowe by his Royall Attestation under Our Hands John, hee, is noblie descended of a great and ancient Familie and that he is the son of a valiant and worthy Knight, and so both by birth and education is the better inhabled and obliged to behave himselfe virtuously in all his imployments Which if he shall performe [*illegible*] Wee hope he will to Your Maiesties satisfaction; it may please You (the rather at Our Requeste) to continue Your good Favour and Princely Goodness towards him according to his qualitie and the merits of his Services Whereby Wee shalbe readie to acknowledge Your good Affection unto Us agreeable to that Friendship and Correspondance which Wee desire to continue with your Maiestie and with all mutual Offices faithfullie to observe. And thus wee wish unto Your Imperiall Majestie Our dearest Brother and frend all happiness on Earth in this life and everlasting in the Kingdome of Heaven, Given at our Royall Palace of Westminster on the Twentieth Daie of Aprill 1629, And of our raigne the Fifth.

Charles R.

Unlike the text, the liming on this letter is in good condition. The borders are ruled off from the text with a brown line decorated in a gold dot and dash pattern. The initial 'C' in the block of the first line is rendered in gold on a blue background of scrollwork highlighted with touches of black and gold. Within the curve of the 'C' is a small stylized cartouche with an emblem displaying the crown and the letters 'CR' (Carolus Rex) in gold against a green background. The remainder of the first line, "harles By The" is against the same blue background. The right and left hand borders are scalloped at the end; on the points of the scallops are hung three pearl colored droplets. At the center of the top border is a royal coat of arms supported in the traditional way by the crowned lion on the left and on the right the unicorn of Scotland. This is the first letter to include the Italian winged cherubs

57 Regarding Scroope, see James I [13].

over the cartouches at the top corners that are repeated in the similar letter [7] below.

Across the top border, to the right of the coat of arms, is a cartouche displaying the crimson rampant lion of Scotland in gold, with a crowned winged cherub and two green laurel branches at the side. At the far right hand corner is a cartouche emblazoned with the crowned harp of Ireland in gold on an azure ground with palms on each side. In between these emblems, on all of the borders, is elaborate gold scrollwork that appears to have been done with a template except that there is little symmetry in the design. The gold is highlighted in shades of deep green that was perhaps once darker. On the right hand border is the traditional crowned crimson lion seated on a closed crown holding the sword of state and the scepter. Below the lion is a stylized cartouche displaying a gold and crimson crowned thistle on a blue ground with a laurel branch on the left and a palm on the right. At the very bottom right is a stylized shield in black with ten gold balls in a pyramid design crowned by an open gold crown. The design of the balls on the shield is from ecclesiastical heraldry and is often shown crowned by a mitre.

Returning to the top and moving left from the center coat of arms is a cartouche displaying three gold lions passant guardant with two green palm fronds at the top. At the left corner is a cartouche emblazoned with gold fleurs-de-lis on an azure ground, at the top of which is a crowned winged cherub similar to that on the right. Below this emblem is a crowned lion standing on a closed crimson crown. Under the lion is a cartouche showing the crowned Tudor rose, red and white on a blue ground. At the lower left hand corner is a stylized shield quartered in red and gold and charged with red and gold lions passant guardant which is crowned with an open gold crown.

[7] 23 April 1629, F. 35, op. 2, no. 42, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 64 × 68.5 cm.

Charles by the grace of God King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland Defendor of the faith, etc.

To the most high, mightie, and most noble Prince, the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Michael Feodorowich of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], Our most dear and loving Brother, Allie and Frend, Greeting.

Moste excellent Prince, most deare Brother, allie and good frend, The royall tender of our love to your Maiestie by Letters and Messenger Richard Swift, being thus nobly answered with an interchange of Princely congratulacon now by your letter and messenger Vassilly Demetriwich Yeusepove [Vasilii Demetrovich Esipov] doth infinitely assure us of your Maiesties sweet affection for the continuance in our Persons of that happie alliance betweene our most

deare father King James of ever blessed memorie and your Maiestie our good Brother,⁵⁸ a thing which as wee verie well knowe proceeds from your Princely and Pyous nature to matters of such high consequence, we do not doubt but that such corespondancy shalbe established betweene us and betweene our Kingdomes and Dominions that the same shall endure for many Ages to the praise of *God* to both our Honours and to the publique weale and commodity of both our Realmes. Seinge therefore, good Brother, you are thus nobly pleased to confirme and establish this your affection to us by all manner of tokens of grace and favour towards our Marchants trading into your Kingdomes and particularly by this last Grace and Favour of your Maiestie our good Brother, and of our deere Cozen your Maiesties most noble and reverend Father the great Lord *Feloret Nekeetich* the holy Patriarch of Mosco and of all Russia renewing unto them for our sakes and at our instance and request their antient priviledges and immunities of free commerce and trade within you Maiesties great and famous Kingdomes. Wee also held ourself tyed by all the bonds of princely humanity to acknowledge the same with all thanckfulnes, promising in the word of a King that we will demerit the same againe by all the like offices of Princely curtesies to your Maiesty and grace and favor towards your Subjects which shalbe licensed by your Maiestie to trade into our Kingdomes.

But because (most loving Brother and deare allie) we have observed in the Priviledges now granted to our Marchants that they are prohibited to entertaine or keepe any of your Maiesties subiects of the Russian Nation to serve them in their ordinary affaries, contrary to that which hath beene formerly graunted to them by your Maiestie and our deare Cozen the holie Patriarch and by your noble Progenitors, Wee pray your Maiestie that as wee on our parte do freely permit our subiects, of what condition soever they be to serve your Maiestie (even when our selfe have had use of their service) so you will also be pleased for our sake to continue unto our Marchants their former libertie in this point, assuring our selfe that your Maiestie will find them to be men every way framed to all dutifull obedience towards your Maiestie and your noble father the holy Patriarch and full of humanity to your people that live among them, the contrary whereof shall pull on their heads our severest Justice and highest displeasure and therefore we have commanded our agent Fabian Smith, now resident at your Court to be vigilant and carefull of our pleasure heerein.

In one thing more we think fit to move your Maiestie our good Brother on the behalfe of our said Marchants, who by reason of the troubles of theis parts of Christendome at this tyme are compelled for their better safetie to

58 Esipov was in London in 1628 and entertained at court although he was not on an official mission.

send into your Maiesties Dominions shippes of greater force and burthen then heeretofore they have used, which by reasons of the shallownesse of the water upon the Barr of Pedezemse [Pudozemsk] are forced to ride in open Sea and there to lade and unlade their goods in Boats and small Vessels to their great danger, trouble, and charges, besides their losse of much time. Wee doe therefore pray your Maiestie that for our sake you wilbe pleased to permitte them to take the benefitt of another passage already knowne by the Barrs of Murmensy and Berosava Ouste,⁵⁹ which wee assure ourselfe may safely be done without any preiudice at all to your Maiestie.

Wee have also considered your Maiesties desire by your Letters in the behalfe of John the sonne of John Elmson (your Maiesties servant and Interpreter) brought into our Kingdomes by our servant, and welbeloved by us, Sir John Merick [Merrick], Knight (then Ambassador to your Maiestie) to be trained up in our University of Cambridge; The same John, we are given to understand, since his coming into our Dominions hath well profitted in the English, Latin, and Greek tongues, and in the liberall Arts, and now for his further experience is travailled into France and Italie, upon whose returne we purpose for your Maiesties sake, to give Commandment concerning him, and that our Colledge of Doctours shall take care for his instruction in the studdie of Phisicke and other good Arts whereby he may be better enabled for your Maiesties service.⁶⁰ Wee thought it very fit most deare Brother, to acquaint your Maiestie That for some affaires of our State we sent our Ambassador Sir Dormer Cotton [Dodmore Cotton], Knight, the last yeare in Company with a Persian Ambassador unto the King of Persia, and for that we conceive his passage for his speedier returne may be layd through your Maiesties Dominions.⁶¹

Wee pray your Maiestie to affoord him that Princely courtesie that at his coming to the Borders of your Countrey your Voyavodes and Governours there may receive him with all humanitie,⁶² and permitt him to passe freely through your Maiesties great Dominions to your Castle of Archangell where we have appointed our Agent Fabian Smith to take care for transporting him into our

59 I.e., Murmensky and Berezovo Ust'e. See P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 56; Lyubimenko, *EHR*, XXXII (1917), p. 100 n. 4.

60 The name is spelled variously. S. Konovalov writes that "Almanzenov is a russified version of the German Elmston or Helmeson or Helmson." Regarding Elmson, see S. Konovalov, *OSP*, VIII (1958), pp. 119 n. 4, 120 n. 1, 121 n. 1. See also, Appleby, "*Dr. Arthur Dee*," pp. 40–42; and below, n. 121; he was the translator of many of the English letters to the tsar, see Appendix 1.

61 Dodmore Cotton had audience in Persia on 25 May 1628 and died shortly thereafter. Bell, *A Handlist*, p. 212. See [18]; see also above, James I [10].

62 I.e., provincial governors and governors.

Kingdome. Wee shall readily answer your Maiestie in the like points of Princely courtesie upon any occasion of yours. *And* now most deare Brother, having given your Messenger Vassilly Demetriwich Yeusepove [Esipov] an honorable dispatch from our Princely Hands, answerable both to his first reception, continuall entertainment, and our Love and respecte to you our dearest Brother, Allie, and Frend, Wee pray of *God* that your Sovereignitie maie long and gloriously raigne over your great and famous Kingdoms, And that your Maiestie may happilie prosper in all the Royall affaires You take in hand. *Given* in our Princely Pallace of Whitehall the xxiii day of Aprill In the Yeare of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christe, One Thousand Six Hundred Twenty Nine, in the fifth yeare of our raigne.

Charles R.

The beauty of the limning of this letter relates to the two major requests made by Charles: for better berthing at Archangel and for license of permission to travel through Russia from Persia.

This letter incorporates several elements of Italian design with symbols of the English state. The initial block 'C' and remaining first line of text, "Charles By The" are in the same style, design, and color as in [6], with the exception of the design within the initial. Here the framing of the emblem is embellished with the royal flowers—English rose, thistle, and lily.

The royal coat of arms at the center of the top border is in the same colors as in the previous letter. To the right is the cartouche displaying the emblem of Scotland with small bunches of fruit hung by a red sash added at the base. At the right hand corner is the crowned golden harp of Ireland on an azure ground with a winged cherub and palm fronds. The emblem is set in a cartouche decorated with grotesques on each side. To the left of center is a cartouche displaying a crowned red shield with the three gold English lions, above which is a winged cherub and a cartouche of similar design with grotesques surrounding the emblem of the harp at the right hand corner. At the left corner is a cartouche displaying fleurs-de-lis. On the left border are first a crowned lion exactly as is shown in [6]; a cartouche framing an emblem of the red and white English rose, a winged cherub at the top and a red sash with a garland of fruit at the bottom; beneath it is the same open crowned shield in red and gold as on [6]. Similarly the right border, with only small changes, replicates earlier designs. Under the right corner is the seated lion with sword and scepter and below that the crowned thistle framed with a gargoyle at top and bottom where there is also fruit held in a bunch with a red sash. Below this is the open crowned black shield decorated with gold balls as in [6]. In between all of the emblems and shields is elaborate gold scrollwork limned on the parchment without a ground. On the top border dolphins are incorporated in to the scroll pattern.

[8] 23 April 1629, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 43, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 43 × 56.75 cm.*

Charles by the grace of God King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland defender of the faith, etc.

To the most excellent and reverend great Lord *Feloret Nektich* the holy Patriarch of Mosco and of all Russia, our most deare and loving Cosen, Greeting.

Most excellent great Lord most deer Cosen and frend, When wee call to memorie the noble acceptance our Letters had with your Grace our good Cosen sent by our Messenger Richard Swift, and your most noble respects to this happie alliance begun in our owne person with your most renowned Sonne our good Brother the great Lord Empourer and Great Duke *Michael Phiadorowich* of all Russia sole commander and with your Grace our good Cozen, we cannot but express what high content wee take to bee thus hartely saluted by a Cozen and friend soe deere and neere unto us and every way [*illegible*] of our affections; *Your* Messenger Vassilly Demetrewich Yevespove [*Vasilii Demetrovich Esipov*] whom we admitted to our Princely presence with all Grace and favour, can witness how lovingly we received your Letters, but how deeply wee have imprinted in our Princly Breast these your noble Congratulations and holy observations of this happie alliance your Grace [*illegible*] discern. It remains then that wee pray your Grace our good Cozen to continue your begun noble affection to the happy allyence betweene your [*illegible*] and betweene our Crownes Kingdomes and dominions which as wee doe very well knowe your high authoritie in that state hath power to performe, soe the whole world shall confesse that by these holy duties and sweet offices of your Grace our good Cosen, nether the Earth, nor Seas can have soe mucht force to separate us as the Godly disposition of our natural humanitie and mutuall love have Power to ioyne us together. *And* the next place wee thanke your Grace our good Cozen, for your continued bounty and Goodness to our Merchants perticularly for this last reall Act of Grace and favour of our deere Brother and your Grace our deere Cozen in the last gracious Privileges and ymmunities of free Commerce and Trade within those his Maiesties great Kingdomes of Russia, a favour which our Princly nature will ever retaine in our memorie and wilbe ready to demeritt the same by all good offices of Princly affecon at your Graces hand when you shall please to require it of us.

This your gracious and noble disposition, most deere Cozen, as it doth certainly assure us of the continuance of your favours to our Agent Fabian Smith and the rest of our Merchants resyding with you, whom wee intreat your Grace to continue under your favourable proteccion, soe it animates us to desire of you our good Cozen this courtesie also on their behalf, that according to the former priviledges given our Merchants by our deere Brother your renowned Sonne,

and by your Grace our good Cozen, they may enioy the liberty of entertaineinge such of the Russ People to serve them in their houses for their Ordinarie affaires as heretofore they have done and hath ever bin allowed them from the begininge of this happie allyence betweene the two Kingdomes. *And* pray of that God who excells in Goodness and greatness, long to preserve your Grace in all health and happiness to your owne everlasting honour and the good and benefitt of those Great Kingdomes and people wherein you live, *Given* in our Royall Pallace of Whitehall the xxiiiith day of Aprill in the yeare of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* 1629, in the fifth yeare of our Raigne.

Charles R.

The limning includes clerical symbols with little reference to the monarchy. The borders are ruled off from the text by a gold line that ends at the bottom of each side with three pearl-colored droplets. The first line of the text "Charles By The" is written in the same style gold letters as in [6] and [7] over blue scrollwork as in [7]. The initial 'C' is also the same; in the center is a cartouche displaying the crown over the initials 'CR' as in [6] and [7]. This is the only visual reference in the letter to the king and Crown. The left and right borders are decorated with patterned gold scrollwork on a crimson ground. Across the top, at the Center and corners, and also in the centers of both the left and right hand borders are golden mitres with gold infulae, or fringed ribbons, in front of two crossed crosiers or pastoral staffs. The mitres are all of the same design, with a small jewel set in the center front. They do not appear to represent any particular denomination but rather to echo the idea of church in a way pleasing to the patriarch.

[9] 31 October 1629, F. 35, op. 2, no. 44, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 70 × 73 cm.

Charles by the grace of God, King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

To the most high, mighty, and right noble Prince, the great Lord, Emperour, and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], Greeting. *Moste* excellent Prince, most deare Brother, Aliye and good Frend, By reason of a great dearth and scarcitie of Corne which hath lately bene and still continueth in Our Kingdome of Ireland, whose wants we are in all Princely Compassion to releve As also in regard of that extraordinarie quantitie of Corne which was gonne out of our Kingdomes of England and Scotland to supplie the necessities of the Princes of the confederacie whose Dominions lye [*illegible*] and [*illegible*] fearfall destruction of a long and bloody Warre, especially that of the Pallatinate and other countreys adioyning we make this our Request to your Royall Maiestie our dearest Brother. For neither can we in our Princely disposition see the wants and neccesities of our owne Kingdome

and not seeke the best meanes for their Releefe, neither would we withdrawe our former bountie and supply from other Princes which hitherto have in all respect bene furnished out of our Kingdomes.

Wherefore understanding that in Your Maiesties Dominions all sorts of graine are at reasonable Prices, in regard of that auncient Love and Amitie derived from our noble Predissessors unto us Our Request unto your Maiestie is that you will give us leave to buy at Places most convenient and when the greatest Marts are One-hundred-thousand chetfords of Vollogda measure of Rye, Wheat and Buck Wheat and Upshena [millet]. And to command your Governors of your Castles and great Townes that wee may have free libertie to transporte the same beyond the Seas in such Shippes as we shall hold most expedient for that purpose. And for that we have thought it convenient in so weightie a matter to make choise of a sufficient honest Factor to manage our business.⁶³

Wee out of our Princely favour have appointed our trustie and faithfull Subiect and Servant Thomas Wyche, Marchant, to be our principall Factour and such others as he shall thinck fit to aide and assiste him in the providing of the said Corne, not doubting but your Maiestie will out of your Princely Bountie grant our said Factor or his deputies free [*illegible*] to buy such a quantitie for our use. And that your Maiestie may be better informed of this Our Will and Pleasure in this Our Requeste. Wee have directed Our Letters to Our Agent Fabian Smith, who is appointed by us for the time being to sollicite and follow Our weighty Affaires apparteining to Our Selfe or Our Subiects and Marchants which traffique in Your Maiesties Dominions that Our Agente Fabian Smith shall aide and assist Our said Factour Thomas Wyche in all Occasions touching the obteyninge this Our Royall Request of Your Princely Maiestie, Promising the like unto Your Maiestie or any of Your Subiects, if anie part of Your Dominions shalbe in want and distresse, ever willing to maintaine that auncient Love and Amitie which in times of Our noble Progenitors hath shoven itselfe in outward Expression if either Your Maiestie or Wee have had need of one anothers helpe. *And* now most deare Brother, Allye and good Frend, Wee pray of *God* that Your Sovereignty may long and gloriously raigne over Your great and famous Kingdomes, And that Your Imperiall Majestie may happily prosper in all the Royall Affaires you take in hand. *Given* in Our Royall Pallace of Whitehall the One and thirtieth Day of October in the Yeare of Our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, 1629, In the Fifth Yeare of Our Raigne.

63 See S. Kononov, *OSP*, VIII (1958), pp. 122, 144–146.

Charles R.

This is Charles's second request for grain (see [5]). According to the letter of the same day to Filaret [10], the request was for one hundred thousand Vologda chetverts.⁶⁴ Apparently this was the only one of the English requests of the period that was honored. High prices due to harvest short falls encouraged the Russians to sell at this time. Generally speaking, Russian grain, 'a Treasury monopoly item,' was not normally exported abroad.⁶⁵

Framed by borders ruled off from the text by a fine red and blue line enhanced with gold, the letter is similar in design to [6] and [7] but without the Italianate winged cherubs and fruit garlands. In the first line of text is an initial 'C' and gold letters "harles By" against a blue pattern of small diamonds with a gold starburst in each center. The 'C' holds a cartouche that displays red and white roses.

The detail of the gold scrollwork between the emblems however, is different from that on the other letters, no two documents having the same pattern. What are similar are the emblems of state and the cartouches. As in the others, at the top there are two decorated badges on each side of the royal coat of arms (to the right the Scottish lion and the harp of Ireland; to the left the three lions of England and the fleurs-de-lis of France). On the right border is a large and faded crowned single fleur-de-lis, a second crowned Irish harp and a crowned black shield with ten faded gold balls. On the left hand side is a lion standing on the crown, the seated lion holding the sword and scepter, and the crowned red and gold quartered shield emblazoned with the English lion passant guardant on each quarter. The side borders are scalloped at the ends where three pearl-colored droplets hang.

[10] 31 October 1629, F. 35, op. 2, no. 45, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 44.6 × 49 cm.

Charles by the grace of God, King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

TO the most excellent and reverend great Lord *Feloret Nekitich*, the holy Patriarch of Mosco, and of all Russia, Our most deare and loving Cosen, Greetinge.

Moste excellent great Lord most deare Cosen and Frend, Having now occasion to write Our Princely Letters to Our dearest Brother, Your renowned Sonne by Our trusty and faithfull Subiect and Servant Thomas Wiche [Wyche], one of

64 Concerning Chetverts, see below, n. 67.

65 Arel, "Muscovy Company," p. 225.

our Merchants,⁶⁶ Wee helde it verie agreeable to that noble Correspondencie that hath bene observed betwene Our selfe and Your Grace Our good Cosen to lett You understand that for the better supplyeng of the necessitie of Our Kingdome of Ireland Wee have desired of Our good Brother to give Us leave to buy upp in his Maiesties Kingdomes of Russia certaine Corne and Graine to the Quantitie of one hundred thousand Vollogda Chetforts [*sic*] of Rye, Wheat, Buckwheate, and Upshena [millet], and to transporte the same into Our said Kingdome of Ireland.⁶⁷ And for that deare Cosen Wee have heeretofore had large experience of Your Graces noble disposition to the Welfare of Our State and Kingdomes, and Your readinesse to further Us in any Our Princely Affaires with his Imperiall Maiestie Our good Brother.

Wee doe also praye of Your Grace That You wilbe pleased in Your Love and Affection to Us to give Your noble Consent to this Our Request, And that Our Servant and Factor Thomas Wyche upon his Imperiall Maiesties and Your Graces Grant maie have free Libertie to make Provisions of the said Corne for Our Use accordinglie. Your Grace herein shall give unto Us a large Testimonie of Your good Affection to Our Affaires, And Maie expecte from Us a Princely Observance and Requittall thereof upon any Occasion of his Imperiall Maiesties Our good Brother and Your Grace Our good Cosen. And that Your Grace Our good Cosen maie the better understand Our Desire heerein Wee have ordered Our Agent Fabian Smith to attend Youre Grace in the Premisses and to be ayding and assisting to Our said Factour Thomas Wyche in the soliciting and obtaining of this Our Requeste. Wee praie of that *God* who excels in Goodnesse and Greatnesse long to preserve Your Grace in all Health and Happinesse to Your owne everlasting Honor and the Good and Benefitt of those great Kingdomes and People wherein You live. *Given* in Our Royal Pallace of Whit-hall the One and thirtith Daie of October in the Yeare of [our] Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christe* One Thousand Six Hundreds Twentie Nyne, In the Fifth Yeare of Our Reigne.

Charles R.

The letter is similar to the one to Filaret ([8]), but with the addition of the Stuart coat of arms at the center top. The borders of gold scrollwork frame the letter on three sides and end with a scalloped edge hung with pearl-colored droplets.

66 Thomas Wyche, a member of the Muscovy Company, served as an agent in Russia in 1633 and became a privileged merchant in 1635. Bell, *Handlist*, p. 225; Arel, "Muscovy Company", p. 119.

67 A chetvert was a dry measure for grain, in the 16th century equal to about 144 pounds of rye. *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom*, p. 373. For a fuller explanation of the measure, see Arel, p. 228.

An English rose as described in [8] and [9], but in this case not crowned, is at the center of the 'C'. The initial is followed by "arles By The" limned in gold on a blue ground with a diamond pattern and starbursts similar to [9]. At the top corners are miters with crossed crosiers as described in [8]. On the left and right sides in the middle and at the bottom are additional miters of the same design.

[11] 10 August 1630, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 48, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 60 × 75.5 cm. See S. Konovalov, OSP, VIII (1958), 122, 146–148. See Frontispiece.*

Charles by the grace of God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

To the most high, mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord *Michael Pheodorowich*, Emperor and great Duke of all Russia" [*full titles follow, see [1]*],

Whereas our late royall Father King *James* of famous memorie did by his letters dated in the seventh yeare of his Maiesties raigne give license unto Captaine Thomas Chamberlaine, Hugh Kendrick and Captaine John Craull [Crale] (every of which commanded one hundred horse) to serve in your warres against the forces of the King of Poland, which said Captaines did valiantlye performe that service under your Maiesties late predecessor the Emperor and great Duke Vasily Evanowich Susky [Shuiskii] in that warre which hee had with the Pole.⁶⁸ And whereas also it appeared unto our late royall Father that there was due unto the said three Captaines for their entertainment 9000 Rubles, and that out of the Princely sympathy wherewith our royall Father tendered all the subiects of his kingdomes of whose service and fidelity he was assured, did then commend unto you Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia, self Upholder, the recoverie of their said entertainment due unto them for their service, and did committ the negotiation thereof to the care of Sir John Merrick knight,⁶⁹ then Ambassador of our royall Father, who solliciting your Maiestie and your honorable privie Counsell in their behalfe for the receipt of the said 9000 Rubles gave our said royall father for answer by your Maiesties letters that your predecessor the Emperor and the great Duke Vasily Evanowich Susky contracted with the King of Sweden and his Ministers, and not with any particular Captaines and Officers, and that all was paid to Pontus de la Gard [Jakob Pontusson de la Gardie] his Generall and Mons Martinson, a Secretary, which upon examination of our royall Father was found to be mistaken, for that those Captaines were never commanded by Pontus de la Gard nor Mons Martinson, the Secretarie, but that they were sent in a second Army

68 Vasilii Ivanovich Shuiskii (1552–1612); Tsar 1606–1610. Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*, p. 15; P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 25–26.

69 See James I [8].

from the King of Sweden and their Generall was Count Evard Horne who commanded in chiefe, and that there came downe six Moneths pay for them by Demetrius, as sent by your late predecessor, which being not disposed of by the Generall amongst the Captaines, Officers, and Soldiers before their defeat, was all lost and spoiled by the enemye.

Whereupon our royall Father charged his Ambassador Sir Dudley Diggs [Sir Dudley Digges], Knight, to treat with your Maiestie concerning the premises, but he returning without seeing you. Wee do therefore now by these your letters earnestlie entreat your Maiestie lovinglie to entertaine the due consideration of these our causes before you. And in regard of the special service and valour they have heretofore shewed and performed, the equitie of their cause, the commiseration of 100 poore widowes and their children thereby utterlie destitute of meanes, as also for a further encouragement of our other subjects whom hereafter wee may be occasioned to employe in your royal service and assistance upon and other accident that may concerne your honor or the saftie of your estate. That you wilbe pleased to command your princelie satisfaction to be made of this their due unto our loving and faithful subject Thomas Chamberlaine whose humble desire is, that in lieu of the 9000 Rubles your Maiestie would grant him your license to take up for his readie money and export out of your Maiesties Dominions in the year 1631, 100000 chetfords of wheate, for the receipte of which your princelie favor he hath substituted Edward Johnstone [Johnstone], Esq.,⁷⁰ of our body who hath for many yeares done faithfull service to our royall Father and to our selfe in whose fidelitie Wee [*illegible*] great [*illegible*] William Humber, who is to associate in this negotiation,⁷¹ Whome Wee have thought good to tender unto you our Brother, not doubting but that the [*illegible*] wilbe as ready to perform their [*illegible*] to your royall Maiestie as he hath heretofore done and performed for us and our royall Father deceased to our good content and likeing, Desiring you to tender them for our sake and to Esteeme of them and to give them license to return into England to do us further service when they have performed that which they [*illegible*]. And because wee have not heard of the successe of our letters sent unto your Maiestie in the behalfe of our aforesaid loving subject Captaine Thomas Chamberlaine by Doctor Arthur Dee, your Maiesties Phisition Wee comitt the solicitation thereof to the care of the Bearers, William Humber and Edward Johnstone [Johnstone], Esq., and do wish all encrease of honor and

70 Edward Johnstone and John Livingston, who arrived later, were sent as envoys to purchase the grain or to negotiate its being given in payment for the earlier debt. P. Dukes, G. Herd, and J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 63.

71 Johnstone and Humber were members of the Company. Arel, "Muscovy Company," p. 113.

happines unto your Majestie, Given at our Pallace of Westminster the tenth Day of August in the yeare of our Lord God 1630.

Charles R.

The military units in question had been raised in 1610, twenty years earlier. Eight years then passed before the mission of Sir Dudley Digges left England in June 1618 ostensibly to rectify the matter of pay. Digges carried money to support the tsar in the Polish war, but arrived too late to have it be of any value (James I [9], [12]). The mercenary Captain, Thomas Chamberlain, from c. 1610 sent regular letters of intelligence to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.⁷² The undated letter, c. 1611, recounts the story of the Swedish paying De la Garde and Edward Korne (rather than one Martinson) who then, "havinge more wealth then will, more honor then judgement, and being noe soldiars at all, weare druncke with theayer good fortunes. . . . But we living full fortene monethes unpayed, and this sixce monthes past being in the armye, our towe Generalls would not deliver a penye."⁷³ Thomas Chamberlain, now, however, in lieu of the 9,000 rubles wanted a license to purchase and take out of Russia in 1631 one hundred thousand chetfords of wheat ([5, 10]).⁷⁴ In that event his place as captain would be taken by one Edward Johnstone.

This letter is artistically unique. The flowers and fruits that span the borders echo botanical samples rather than stylized decoration. The text begins with a decorated 'C', inside the border, that is not relegated to a box. It is decorated in a form similar to that in [22]. Following the intial are the letters "harles By" that may have been originally touched with gold pigment. Above this first line there is a row of gold scrollwork one half the width of the letters in the first line. The text is here ruled off from the borders with fine red lines. Each side border ends in a triangular configuration with a single pendant hanging from the center. The borders are limned in a flat light ochre ground with no gold scrollwork and, in fact, with the exception of the first line of letters where there at one time may have been gold, there appears to be no gold at all in the decoration.

At the center top border is a round deep blue framed cartouche that displays a crowned composite flower, half red and white English rose, half thistle. At the right corner is a cartouche with a small seascape; at the left, one displaying a picture of a small sail boat under a lowering sky. The remainder of the border is

72 See *Russia and the North*, pp. 185 n. 32, 186 n. 33, 189 nn. 39 and 40; 187 n. 45.

73 *Elementa ad fontium Editiones*, VI, p. 117.

74 Eight years later Chamberlain's offer was still in limbo. The Dowager Duchess of Richmond and Lenox wrote to Secretary Windebank in September 1638 proposing that her cousin expedite the negotiations. SP 16/398:17 (CSPD 1638–1639, p. 4); P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 63.

limned with disconnected stems of flowers and fruits. Moving clockwise up the left side, across the top and down the right are stems of cherry, pear, honeysuckle, nightshade, strawberries, marigolds or pomegranate, cherry, sweet pea, wild pansies, white camellia or rose, and apple.

[12] 10 August 1630, F. 35, op. 2, no. 49, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 54.5 × 72.5 cm.

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To the most excellent and reverend great Lord *Feloret Nekitich* the holie patriarch of all Mosco and of all Russia, etc. Greeting,

Right excellent great Lord, Wee have formerlie written our gratus letters unto your renowned Sonne in favor of Captaine Thomas Chamberlaine, Hugh Kendricke, and Captaine John Craul [Crale] every of which commanded 100 horse under the late Emperor and great Duke *Vasilie Evanowich Susky* [Shuiskii] in his warres against the King of Poland.⁷⁵ In which service (they having performed the duties of honest and valiant gentlemen) it appeared that there remained due unto them for their said service and entertainment 9000 Rubles; which by former letters as well from our Royall Father of blessed memorie as from our Selfe We earnestlie desired might be fullie satisfied and paid unto them. But those our letters not producing effects suteable to our desire and expectation Wee have now once more thought good by these our especial letters to reiterate our former recommendation unto his emperiall Maiestie Earnestlie requesting, that aswell in regard of their faithfull service, as also in commiseration of 100 poore widowes and children, utterlie left destitute and abandoned to the necessities and miseries of a penurious life, his royal Maiestie would command satisfaction to be made of this their due to our trusty and welbeloved Servant Captain Thomas Chamberlaine (a gentleman that hath given good testimonie to the world of his sufficiency and experience in martiall affaires) whose humble desire is that in lieu of the 9000 Rubles his Imperiall Maiestie would be pleased to grant him license to buy and transport out of his Maiesties Dominions in the year 1631, 100000 Chetfords of Wheate, A request so iust and reasonable and so little preiudiciall to his royall Maiestie or his subiects, as we doubt not but Wee shall obtaine our desire especially if by the mediation and intercession of your Grace our deare Cousin with your renowned Sonne His Maiestie may be entreated to take to hart the iustice and equitie of our demand and the meritt of the parties interested therein.

75 See above, n. 68.

And for the better furtherance and expedition of this our request Wee have made choice of our trustie and welbeloved Servants Edward Johnstone and William Humber, Esquires of our Bodye, being gentlemen well affectioned to his royall Maiestie and whom wee have iointly sent with commandement to attend the event and successe of theis our letters with order to make relation to us at theire returne, how powerfull our recommendation is with his royall Maiestie your renowned Sonne.⁷⁶ Wherefore Wee entreate your Grace to give them all possible assistance and furtherance for the obtaining this theire desire And to rest assured that Wee shalbe readie to expresse in all occasions the mutuall correspondence betweene our crownes and kingdoms, or the per-ticuler affection and respect Wee beare your Grace and his Emperiall Maiestie. Given at our Pallace of Westminster the tenth day of August 1630.

Charles R.

The border design here is the same as on earlier letters. See James I, [1–5]; and below, [5], [14–17]. It also replicates the earlier form in adding ‘Christian’ before ‘faith’ in the title of the English king. There are no symbols of states other than the English rose, thistle, and fleurs-de-lis interwoven in the gold scrollwork and in the initial ‘C’. There are flecks of burnished gold visible on the scrollwork indicating that originally the design was highlighted in gold leaf. As with [13] and [17] there are no visual emblems for Ireland.

[13] 20 August 1630, F. 35, op. 2, no. 50, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 42 × 59.75 cm.

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To the right high mightie, the right noble Prince, the great Lord *Michaell Pheodorowich* by the grace of God Emperor and great Duke of all Russia [*full title follows, see [1]*] [*Illegible*] Health and everlasting happiness.

[*Illegible*] in our Kingdom of Ireland as also in the Palatinate and the adia-cent Countreys of divers other Princes [*illegible*] princely compassion to relieve. Wee formerlie importuned your royall Maiestie by our letters sent by our [*illegible*] Thomas Wiche [Wyche] that in contemplacion of the Great amitie and mutuall correspondence betweene our Crownes and Kingdomes as also for the benefit Wee hoped [*illegible*] releiving of many our neighbor Princes and Countreys, wasted and consumed by warre and famine, your royall Maiestie would have [*illegible*] Servant Thomas Wiche [Wyche] the bringer of our said Letters, to buy in your Empire and Kingdomes and in the chiefe mart townes

76 See above, nn. 70 and 71.

thereof 100,000 Chetverts [*illegible*] measure of Rice, Wheate, Buckwheate and Upshena [millet]. And to the end that our said letters might find the [*illegible*] Wee commanded our agent Fabian Smith to assist our [*illegible*] in the solicitation of this our desire, nothing doubting but a request so [*illegible*], reasonable, and [*illegible*] for the relief of your Maiesties frends would have [*illegible*] an effect suteable to our desire and expectation. But being given to understand your Maiestie hath not as yet condescended to the full of our demand but hath onely granted leave for the exportation of 30,000 Chetfords of Mosco in a [*illegible*] 15,000 [*illegible*] measure is a proportion so farre short of our expectation, and so utterlie insufficient to supplie the present want that Wee have thought good by this our Servant Captaine Alexander Stewart [Alexander Stuart] once more to renew our former request and desire unto your Maiestie, and do verie earnestlie entreate you to permit our said Servant to buy for our use the full complement mentioned in our former letter this insuing winter. And to give order and commandment to the severall governours of your Maiesties Castles and chief mart townes that they permit and suffer our said Servant and his Deputies to buy up and transport the said quantitie of 100,000 Chetfords of all sorts of graine frelie without custome according as was desired by our former letters. And Wee shalbe readie to answere your Majestie in all ways of courtesie and offers of friendship as often as your royall Selfe or subiects shall have any occasion to require any testimonie thereof from Us. Given at our Pallace of Westminster the twentieth day of August 1630.

Charles R

*In addition to requesting the purchase of grain, Stuart also sought an English-Swedish-Russian alliance to counter the Dutch.*⁷⁷ (See [5], [9–12].)

The letter has deteriorated; it is faded and in many places unreadable. The borders have been cut off. The sole decoration remaining is the intial 'C' that bears an English rose and fleurs-de lis within the design.

[14] 10 September 1630, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 51, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 62.5 × 77 cm.*

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

⁷⁷ A letter to Fabian Smith, 26 September 1630, from the Privy Council explains the dearth of grain and the English request that the Duke of Muscovia "give license to one John Palmer, an English merchant to buy and export a proportion of 6 or 7 ships lading of corn." *APC 1630–1631*, pp. 74–75, no. 209. See also BL Add. 72419, no. 56 (Trumbull papers); P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 62–63.

To the right high mightie, the right noble Prince, the great Lord *Michaell Pheodorowich* by the grace of *God* Emperor and great Duke of all Russia" [*full title follows, see [1]*], Health and everlasting happines.

Right high mightie and right noble Prince, Whereas [*illegible*] by our princelie letters directed to your royall Maiestie recommended the affaires of our welbeloved Servant Thomas Wich [Wyche] for the exportation of a quantitate of corn particulerlie mentioned in our said letters, the care of which negotiation Wee have again committed to the industry and fidelitie of our trustie and welbeloved Servant *Alexander Stuart*, Baron of Clarie, Gentleman of our Privie Chamber and Carver to our deare Father of blessed memorie, Earnestlie entreating your Maiesties respective dispatch in the expedition of the said Thomas Wich his business as that which Wee most earnestlie desire to be effected. And having taken into our princelie consideration the singular good parts as well for peace as warre, that [*illegible*] said Alexander Stuart who is lineelie decended of the most princelie and most illustrious Familie of *Lennox*,⁷⁸ Wee have taken the occasion aswell in regard of the respect wee have unto your Maiestie and the prosperitie of your affaires against your and our enemies, as the particular favor wee beare to our said Servant Alexander Stuart, to recommend him especiallie to your Maiestie by theis our letters as one who hath not onely carried himselfe discreetlie and prudentlie in our thrice royall Fathers Court, But also as one who hath served our royall Uncle the King of Denmark first in his warres against the Emperour of Germanie as a private Captaine and afterwards for his faithfull service, approved valour, and sufficiency in martiall affaires was honored with a free Commission to command 500 men. Assuring our selfe that upon our recommendation, and a iust valuation of his owne worth and merit Your Maiestie will give him that employment either in peace or warre as our Selfe have reason to expect and a gentleman of his honorable birth and qualitie may deserve, For the which and the favorable dispatch of the affaires entrusted to him, Wee shalbe readie in all occasions to expresse the like willingnes to gratifie your Maiestie in any thing that may concerne the honor and proffit of your Selfe or subiects. Given at our Pallace of Westminster the tenth day of September 1630.

78 Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of Lennox (d. 1624) was a privy councilor and steward of the Household for James I. Alexander's relationship to the Stuart family is unclear. Apparently he was not accepted by the tsar and "failed as an agent of the Muscovy Company." SSNE 4081.

Charles R.

The borders are decorated in scrollwork, at one time gilded, that is highlighted in red. It is similar to that of [12] and [17] which incorporate fleurs-de-lis and thistles within the pattern. Unlike the others, each side border has a decorative end. There are no visual references to Ireland.

[15] 17 September 1630, F. 35, op. 2, no. 52, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 63 × 73.5 cm.

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God, King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.,

To the right high [*illegible*] and right noble Prince the great Lord Michael Pheodorowich by the grace of God Emperor and great Duke of Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], Health and everlasting happiness Right high and mightie and right noble Prince,

Amongst all things where Princes may do good offices and shew their love to each other there is none more acceptable than when they do willinglie communicate [*illegible*] conditions they stand in need of and cannot be supplied elsewhere. In which kind Wee do at this time take the offered occasion which is this. The [*illegible*] hath been the cause that the harvest doth not answere the expectation of the husbandman, and by that means [*illegible*] Dominions there is like to be a great scarcitie of grain if Wee be not supplied from other places where there is greater store. And because [*illegible*] given to understand that within the territories and Dominions of your royall Maiestie it hath pleased God to send such plenty that it doth [*illegible*] exceed expectation, So that without discommodating Your country you may afford great quantities to be carried to other places.

Wee have therefore thought good by these our letters to pray your royall Maiestie to permit and suffer our trustie and welbeloved subiect, John Palmer, Marchant,⁷⁹ whom Wee have sent expresslie unto your Maiestie to buy and provide for our use one hundred thousand Chetfords Vollo measure,⁸⁰ or six or seven shipps lading of Corne of all sorts as Rice, Wheate, Buckwheat and Upshena [millet], he paying for the same the usuall prize [*illegible*] which corn is sold there. And to give order and comandement to the several Governors of your Maiesties Castles and chief mart towns that they permit and suffer

79 John Palmer was a member of the Company. See Arel, "Muscovy Company," p. 114; below, [16].

80 See above, n. 67.

the said John Palmer and such as he shall appoint to transport the said quantitie of all sorts of graine [*illegible*] dominions without any their interruption, molestation, or hindrance. And Wee shalbe readie to express the like willingness to give [*illegible*] Maiestie all possible satisfaction in anything that your royall Selfe or Subiects may have occasion to require at our hands. Given at our Pallace at Westminster the 17th day of September 1630.

Charles R.

The borders are decorated with gold scrollwork highlighted with touches of gold leaf, ribbons, leaves in dark blue or green with some red outlining, all very much faded. At the Center top is a decorated urn. The side borders end with three chains each holding a blue or grey droplet. Within the scrollwork, in a similar but more elaborate design than on the earlier James letters are the thistle and English rose (James I [1–5], and below [12, 14, 16, 17]). The initial also displays the English rose and fleurs-de-lis but there is no reference to Ireland.

[16] 17 September 1630, F. 35, op. 2, no. 53, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 62 × 74.5 cm.

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland defendor of the Christian faith, etc.

To the most Excellent and reverend great Lord *Feloret Nektich* the holie patriarch of Mosco and of all Russia, etc., Most excellent and reverend great Lord,

Wee have written our letters to your royall and renowned Sonne in the behalf of our trustie and beloved subiect John Palmer, Marchant, to pray his royall Maiestie to permitt and suffer him to buy and provide for our use one hundred thousand Chetfords, Vollo measure, or six or seven Shippes lading of Corne of all sorts to supplie the want and scarcitie of graine which is like this yeare to fall within our Dominions by reason of the unseasonableness of the last harvest as [*illegible*] letters to his royall Maiestie more at large is expressed. Wherein as his Imperiall Maiestie shall do Us a verie accepttabler turne, which Wee shalbe readie to requite, So upon the confidence Wee have in your Graces great wisdom and sincere affection towards Us, Wee do earnestlie desire your Grace to give your best furtherance for the dispatch of our said Subiect John Palmer, that he export the said quantitie of Corne out of your renowned Sonnes Dominions in due time and season, least otherwise it should prove no use. And for this your Graces courtesie towards Us Wee will take such care of any affaires of his royall Majestie or your Grace that shalbe recomended unto Us as it shall well appear that Wee are both sencible of this favor and will shew the same by the effects that shall follow upon all occasions. Given at our Pallace of Westminster the 17 day of September 1630.

Charles R.

The initial 'C' is purely decorative and displays no emblems of state. The borders, with touches of remaining gold leaf, are colored in faded pink (once red?), and blue and green scrollwork that incorporates motifs of the thistle, rose, and fleurs-de-lis. The design is similar to earlier letters, see James I [1–5, 10] and below, [12, 14, 15, 17].

[17] 30 September 1630, F. 35, op. 2, no. 54, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 62.5 × 67.5 cm.

Charles by the grace of the most high God Kinge of great Brittain, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

To the high and mightie Prince *Michaell Pheodorowych* by the grace of God Emperor and great Duke of Russia [*full title follows, see [1]*], Health and everlasting Happiness.

Right high and mightie Prince, We observing with Our selfe in howe great freedom and service Our Marchants have for manie years continued their Trade in your Dominions.

Wee cannot but receave singular contentment therein and assurance of Your good Affection to maintaine the auncient Amitie and Frendshippe betweene Our Crownes which on Our parte Wee doe gladly embrace and will endeavor to preserve. And from theis Considerations of Entercourse betweene Our Subiects and good Correspondence betweene Our crownes Wee have taken upp an Affection and Desire that there may be in all iust Occasions a free Passage of mutuall curtesies and Respects betweene Our Persons, And in confidence thereof having Occasion to supply Our Selfe out of Your Contreys with some small Quantities of Corne, Wee have commended Our Subiect and Servant, the Bearer hereof, Robert Symes, to repaire thether and provide for Our use six or Seaven Shippes lading of Corne; But being hindered by Robert Symes sicknesse, who was forced thereby to stay in Holland, hee there constituted Martin Vander Brugge,⁸¹ by whom hee sent forward Our Royall Letters to Your Highnesse the which have also bene received and accepted by Your Highnesse, but have not beene put in execution, also Our Moneys which hee had with him for to buy the Corne have bene burthened with Customs, All because Our Servant Robert Symes was not himselfe there in Person, and that Our Agent had also noe order therefore; Of all which Wee hope Your Highnesse is ill and not truly informed.

Wherefore Our friendly Request and Intreatie againe is that Your Highnesse wilbe pleased to hould for recommended Our Subiect and Servant John

81 Regarding Syme, see above, n. 56. I am unable to further identify Martin Vander Brugge.

Lighton, Gentleman and Lieutenant, and his Assigne,⁸² and uppon Our special Correspondance to grant him leave and License for to buy freely and without disturbance in Your Highnesse Dominions the Quantitie of Fourteene Shippes lading with Rye, at the usuall rates and that he may transporte them hether for Our use. And also to give Commandement to all your Officers and Subiects not to give him interruption but ayde and Assistance in this Course of Trade, Which Wee shall account as a speciall Curtesie and readily acknowledge in any thinge that You shall recommend or request of Us. Given at our Royall Honor of Hampton Courte, the laste Day of September, In the Yeare of *Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ* One Thousand Six Hundred Thirty. And of our Raigne of great Brittainne France and Ireland the Sixth.

Charles R.

The borders are similar to earlier letters; see James I [1–5]; and below [5], [11], [14–16]. The top and sides are decorated with scrollwork limned in gold and highlighted in red with an interwoven thistle and rose pattern. Flecks of gold indicate earlier gold leaf on all of the borders. The design being limned on the translucent parchment; the graphite lines marking the placement of a template or block on the skin are visible. The initial 'C' displays no emblems of state.

[18] 5 January 1631, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 46, RGADA. To Tsar Michael. 51.5 × 59.5 cm.*

Charles by the grace of *God* King of great Brittainne France and Ireland defender of the faith, etc.

To the most mighty and right noble Prince, the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full title follows, see [1]*] Our most deare and loving brother, ally, and frend, Greeting,

Great and mighty Lord, Our good Brother, It is well knowne to your Maiestie that the greatest Monarchs by their alliances with other Princes settle their affairs, honor, their governments and much advance the trade and wealth of their subiects, Uppon theis foundacons that alliance was built, which for many successions hath continued betwixt our imperial Crowns: and was lately confirmed by the mutuall princely offices performed betwixt us; wherein for our parts we were glad to embrace your most highly esteemed good affection towards us: and will be ready to expresse uppon all occasions our like respect and Love towards you our good Brother as we declared to your messenger Vasily Demetriwich Yeasepove [*Vasilii Demetrovich Esipov*] whom we received to our royall presence and intertained with gracious favor and much honor, as wee will doe all others that come unto us in your name. *And* if any that shall receive such good usage heere shall afterwards in the Eares of your Maiestie our good

82 John Lighton was a member of the Company. Arel, "Muscovy Company," p. 114.

Brother or else where express their unthanckfulnes (which is a common fault), your great princely Wisdome will give noe credit to such detractors but rather censure them as they deserve that doe ill offices amongst Princes for their own respect. *For* your Maiesties our good Brothers most princely disposition and firme affection to us, wee acknowledge with many thancks that wee have received thereof most ample assurance by your royall promise to give favourable reception and safe conduct to our Ambassador out of Persia if hee had returned thorough your Contrey which his death did prevent and chiefly by your Maiesties good Brothers great favors to our Marchants for our sakes giving them leave to intertaine in their houses (as formerly they used) such competent numbers of your people of Russia as are requisite for their affairs.

And notwithstanding the misreports raised by some officers at Archangell to bring displeasure uppon our people, by being pleased both to take off[f] that restraint which was procured of their buying tarre amongst your subiects for their necessary making of cordage: And to give them license to make their Provision thereof in as ample manner as formerly by your gracious Priviledges they had done: and also to remit the fine of 2000 rubles which by the malice of their enemies they were made subiect to. *Theis* your gracious favors worthy soe great a Prince, as they have much obliged us, soe they have emboldned your Marchants further to implore our princely aid in representing to your Maiestie our good Brother, and to your noble Father our dear Cozen and Frend, the most reverend great Lord *Feloret Nekitich*, the holie Patriarch of Mosco and of all Russia, some greevances and complaints against your great officers appointed to doe them Justice: who notwithstanding the amity and good correspondency continued betwixt us in our own Persons have not only neglected and vilified our said Marchants and their Causes to the dishonor of our Nation which all Contreys have in regard: but have also most unjustly disgraced some of them in public place[s] and restrained others of their liberty: which heretofore was not attempted as being a violation of that good Correspondence which hath ever bene observed and may much derogate from the honor of us both in the same.

Wherefore for redresse and prevention thereof hereafter, Our Request is to Your Maiestie our deare Brother, on our Marchants behalf, that you will appoint some one of your Nobilitie neere your owne Person to be their Protector, as heretofore was used, to whom they may addresse themselves uppon their iust Occasions and by whom your Maiestie our good Brother and your noble Father our deare Cozen who are the fountains of Honor and Justice in all your Dominions may be truly informed in their right.

Moreover whereas by our former letters to your Maiestie our good brother, wee made special Request that the Ships of our Marchants coming to the Porte

of Archangell might be permitted to passe by the new discovered barre of Mormensky and Beraseva Ouse, as well to avoid the great danger of the Olde-barre by the want of water there, as also for other reasons of conveniency mentioned in our said Letters which as yet your Maiestie hath not condescended unto. *Nowe* againe at the humble and earnest sute of our said Marchants wee find it necessary to recommend the same request to your further gracious and wise consideration because one of their shippes with her full lading was cast away the laste yeare by passing the old barre, which much dishartneth them from trade there if they should be forced to soe hazardous a Passage.

This our Request and also in generall for the enlargement of Privileges and Favors to our said Marchants, we make unto your Maiestie our good Brother and to your noble Father are deare Cosin, both out of the confidence we have in the ancient Amitie soe lately renewed and confirmed betwixt us, and also in Contemplation of that important Benefitt which may accrue by the enlargement of Commerce in your Dominions and Countreys. *The* commodities our Merchants bring thither are not matters of superfluities and excesse to exhaust your Wealth or corrupt the manners of your People, but of more use and benefit than those which are brought from other Countreys. And though others maie bring the same to you that buy them first from us, yet it is no small advantage to have them at the first hand. For if our Marchants bee discouraged or dishabled to bring them freely hither, those foreynors will raise the Market to what excessive Rates they please. But by encouraging and advancing the Trade of our Marchants in such sorte as your most Noble Predissessors the Emperours and Princes of those your large Dominions have done your Maiestie our good Brother shall not only drawe from our Kingdomes and Countreys all theis necessarie Commodities at more easie prices then others can afford them but maie be better accommodated with supplies of all kinds from other Countreys,

If you settle our Marchants with you in a growing Trade, there being no Clymate soe remote from whence they can not bring you what Commerce may afford. *And* as they maie bring unto you whatsoever you desire, so maie you vend by them the greatest proporcon of the native Frutes that abounde in your owne large Empire or of what soever you can provide from the Caspian or Northren Seas. Theis were the Foundations of that happie and honorable Entercourse soe long since established betwixt us and our subiects, and theis Benefits will multiplie as your Emperiall Maiestie shall countenance and support our Marchants in their Trade there, which wee indeavour by all meanes to perform on our parts, and will chiefly labour to augment and cherish that interest wee have begunne to settle in the Royall Affections of your Maiestie our good Brother whom wee much honor and esteeme. *And* having thus recommended to your Maiestie our good Brothers royall Favour and Protection all

our Marchants in generall. Soe wee pray you in pirticuler to admitte Abraham Ashe, one of our Subiects, a Marchant residing in Russia, into the roome of William Rowley deceased.⁸³

The presentment of theis our Letters and prosecution of all other our affaires according to such Instructions as he receaveth from us, we have committed to our Agent Fabian Smith, to whom wee praye your Maiestie our deare Brother to give credit. And now our most deare Brother, Allie and good frend, Wee pray of God that your soveraigntie may long and gloriously raigne over your great and famous Kingdomes. And that your Maiestie maie happily prosper in all the royall Affaries you take in hand. Given at our Royall Pallace of Whithall the fifthe Day of Januarie in the yeare of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ one thousand six hundred thirty, in the sixth yeare of our raigne.

Charles R.

The ornamentation of this letter is composed primarily of emblems of state surrounded by gold scrollwork interrupted by lozenges bearing the initials 'CR'. The Stuart coat of arms at center top has to its right a crimson lion seated on a crown; and to its left a lion standing on a crimson crown; at the right corner is a cartouche displaying the arms of Scotland, at the left the same displaying the three English lions passant guardant.

Continuing down the left border is a crowned composite Tudor rose and fleur-de lis, below it a crowned cartouche displaying three fleurs-de-lis and at the bottom a stylized shield, quartered in red and gold, a lion emblazoned on each. On the right hand is a cartouche showing a crowned composite flower of Tudor rose and thistle. Below it is a cartouche displaying the harp of Ireland; at the end of the border is an open gold crown over a stylized black shield with ten golden balls.

The initial 'C' in a square block displays the thistle and Tudor Rose at each corner; within the initial is a lion holding the royal coat of arms. The remaining letters of the first line are in gold against a blue ground demarcated with gold diamonds, stars, and crosses.

[19] 5 January 1631, F. 35, op. 2, no. 47, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 33.5 × 45.2 cm.

Charles by the grace of God King of great Brittain France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

83 Abraham Ashe was the son-in-law of Arthur Dee; his papers are in the Ipswich and Suffolk County Record Office. See Appleby, "Dr. Arthur Dee," pp. 38–47, *passim*. William Rowley had been privileged in the Company since 1628. Arel, "Muscovy Company," p. 114.

To the most excellent and reverend great Lord *Feloret Nekitich* the holie Patriarch of Mosco, and of all Russia our most deare and loving Cosen, Greetinge,

Moste excellent great and gracious Lord and our most respected and deare Cosen Wee doe with Princelie affection congratulate the happiness of your Royall Sonne and good Brother the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia sole Comaunder as well for the peace and prosperitie of his Government as for relying therein uppon the grave Wisdome, Counsaills, and Assistance of a Father soe worthy and soe able to menage great affaires. *And* as by our Royall Letters we have given to his Maiestie our good Brother most hartie thancks for the gracious favors he hath showed to our subiects and have also made Request on their behalf for the redresse of some grievances which tend to the ruine of their Trade in those Parts. Soe with like affection Wee now present the same acknowledgment unto you our most highlie revered and deare Cozen for the good offices you have done generallie to both crownes by confirming the auncient amitie and alliance soe long continued betwixt us and particularly in delivering our subiects from the indignities and oppressions which they suffered of late and in procuring leave for them to keepe a convenient number of Russes in their houses for the furtherance of their affaires. *Theis* favours wee accept as done unto our selfe, and as testimonies both of yor Love unto us and also of your wisdom and Providence for the publique good by the encouragement of Trade.

In which respects we recommend our Marchants unto your Grace for this further favor, That when their Ships shall come to the Port of Archangell, they may passe over the New-discovered-bar of Mormensky and Berosava-owse to prevent the danger of Shipwracke which they latelie suffred upon the Old-bar,⁸⁴ which maketh us the more earnestly to intreate your gracious consent and mediation to procure this for our sakes which soe much concerneth the saftie of our subiects in their goods and in their lyves.

Besides we are given to understand, That though your Royall Sonne our good Brother and your selfe our dear Cosen doe continue your Princelie gracious favours to our Marchants, yet some great officers of State appointed to doe them Justice have not onlie neglected and disgraced but also restrained some of their persons which formerlie was never done. *And* this hath caused us by our Letters to his Imperiall Maiestie our deare Brother to desire that some Noble man of Qualitie and of neerenesse to your Person might be appointed as heretofore to take protection of our Subiects and Marchants to whom they may have recourse upon all their Occasions and by whom your royall Sonne

84 See above, n. 59.

our good Brother and you our deare Cosen may be truly informed in all things which concerne them in your Dominions.⁸⁵ *The protection of Strangers in their iuste Causes is the Honor of great Princes, and specially of those who are most devoutly inclyned to compassion and goodness. And theis be the motives of our addresse at this tyme unto you our deare Cosen whom God long preserve. Given at our Royal Palace of Whithall the fifthe day of January in the yeare of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ 1630 in the sixth yeare of our Raigne.*

Charles R.

The borders are limned with gold and black decoration on a brick red (once crimson?) ground. At the center top, the top left and right hand corners, and in the middle of each side, are Bishop's mitres in roundels. On each side of the mitres are crossed stylized crosiers and between these emblems, on all of the borders, are gold Tudor roses and thistles outlined in black. The initial 'C' holds sprigs of rose and thistle and on the curve of the letter is a red medallion displaying a mitre. The initial and first line are rendered on a blue ground with gold diagonals demarcating diamonds in each of which is a gold star.

[20] 19 May 1631, F. 35, op. 2, no. 56, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 59 × 72.75 cm.

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God King of great Brittain France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

To the most excellent and reverend great Lord *Feloret Nekitich* the holie Patriarch of Mosco and of all Russia, Health and happiness, Right excellent great Lord,

Wee have written our gracious letters to your renowned Sonne in favor of our welbeloved Subiect Collonel Thomas Sanderson who upon his humble and earnest sute, hath obteyned leave from Us to serve the Emperour your royall Sonne in his intended warres.⁸⁶ To which his request Wee have readily condescended as well in regard of the approved worth, valour and experience of

85 See above, [18].

86 Captain Sanderson (Sanderson) and his Capt. Robert Grey were examined before Secretary Windebank (21 July 1632) "respecting the warrant by which vagrants were taken up by Colonel Sanderson for service in the wars." A Privy Council warrant had been issued on 25 May 1632 to Sir Alexander Leslie and Thomas Sanderson, Lieutenant Colonel, for "2000 volunteers to be raised for the Empr. Of Russia." Privy Council Register, PC 2/42, p. 44. Three further warrants were issued the same day for Capt. Herculies Holliland, Capt. Henri Wayt, and Capt. Crow to raise volunteers "by sound of drums or otherwise" to serve the Emperor of Russia (Ibid., p. 48) and two prisoners in the Fleet were released under bond by the Attorney General to accompany Sanderson. Ibid., p. 175. Sanderson left England the previous summer. See also, SP 16/261:19 (CSPD 1631–1633, p. 387), 21 July 1632.

our said Subiect in militarie discipline who, in that honorable profession hath spent the best part of his life in many employments and services in Germanie, Swethland, Poland, France and Spaine and in the East and West Indies as also out of a due consideration that the service of such our Subiects may be of good and acceptable use to his Maiestie, Wee have therefore thought good to affoord this gentleman our especiall recommendation unto your Grace, assuring our Selfe that at our request you will shew him such favor as his occasions may with reason require, or a gentleman of his qualitie deserve. And we shalbe readie to expresse the like willingness to gratifie your Grace, or your renowned Sonne as often as any your Subiects shall have occasion to seeke the same at our hands. Given at our Pallace of Westminster the nineteenth day of May 1631.

Charles R.

The letter to Filaret the following day, presumably inscribed by Edward Norgate, alters the wording of the title and writes Filaret "by the will of God the holie Patriarch of the Imperiall citie of Mosco and of all Russia"; see [23].

At the center of the top border is a cartouche of the Tudor rose and thistle crowned with a crimson crown. Surrounding that emblem and down both the left and right hand borders are large gold, green, grayish brown and red scrolls with a dolphin motif worked in the scrolls in the center on each side. The gold initial 'C' is patterned from a grape vine entwined in a celtic design.

[21] 20 May 1631, F. 35, op. 2, no. 57, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 47.5 × 69.5 cm.

Charles by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.,

To our deare and loving brother the most high mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Feodorowich* of all Russia sole Commander of [*full title follows, see [1]*], and of many other kingdoms Lord and Conqueror, greeting.

Most excellent Prince our most deare brother and frend, Wee have well understood by your Maiesties letters sent by our Servant and Messenger Captaine Alexander Steward [Stuart] your love and goodwill towards Us in that particular grace and favor granted to our Factor and Servant Thomas Wiche [Wyche] for the exporting free of custome and other duties thirtie thousand Chetfords of corne formerlie requested by Us for supply of our kingdome of Ireland, the Palatinate and other Princes countreys our neighbors and allies together with your noble intention and purpose to have granted the rest of the

He was murdered in Moscow in 1633 by Colonel Alexander Leslie. Appleby, "*Dr. Arthur Dee*," pp. 43–45.

hundred thousand chetfords if the scarsitie occasioned by an ill harvest the last year had not prevented it. Which Wee accept with all princelie thankfullnes and wilbee readie to answeere your Maiestie in all like wayes of courtesie and frendshippe. And because the necessitie of the occasion still remayneth such in those countreis from whence Wee are dailie solicited to extend that princelie ayde and relief as wee were wont to give unto them, which Wee cannot so well supplie as Wee have done. We are again inforced to reiterate our first request to your Maiestie and good Brother (whose royall brest Wee knowe is compassionatelie toucht with the wants of our Allies and frends thus afflicted with warre and famine) and to desire you that the next winter (*God* sending a better plentie) you wilbe pleased to make good this your favorable intention by permitting our said Factor Thomas Wiche [Wyche] freele to buy up and export out of your Kingdom of Russia the residue of that quantitie of one hundred thousand chetfords of corne and graine, nothing doubting but that this our request (being every way so iust and equall) wilbee most lovinglie granted by your Maiestie our good Brother and for the speedie expediting of this our Service Wee have given speciall chardge to our Agent Fabian Smith to attend your Maiestie therein. It remaineth that Wee give your Maiestie thanks for the honorable reception and dispatch of our said Servant Alexander Steward [Stuart]. And so Wee hartilie wish unto your Maiestie happie successe in all your Princelie affaires. Written in our Imperiall Cittie of London and in our royall Pallace there, the yeare since *Christ's* birth 1631 and the 20th day of May.

Charles R.

A notable change occurs here in the wording of the King's title and the closing. The new title replaces 'Great Britain' with 'England, Scotland'. The closing identifies the letter as from 'our imperiall Cittie of London' and the date is reckoned from the birth of Christ rather than from the day of succession. The tsar's title also changes from "and of with many other kingdoms Lord 'Commander'" to "and of many other kingdoms Lord and 'Conqueror'".

The top border has been cut off. The large scrollwork on the left and right borders is similar to that on the previous letter [20] and the next [21]. It includes stylized fish within the last scroll on both sides. Apparently a mistake was made by the limner in forming the 'BY' following the King's name in the title which he covered by making a design of scrolls and including 'by' in the first line of italic text, "by the grace of God. . . ."

[22] 20 May 1631, F. 35, op. 2, no. 58, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 62.5 × 80 cm.

Charles by the grace of *God* King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

To our deare and loving Brother the most high mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperour and great Duke *Michaell Feodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], Lord and Conquerour Greeting.

Most excellent Prince and most deare Brother and frend, By princely letters sent latelie unto Us you are pleased to call to minde the ancient League of our famous Progenitors settled for the mutuall good of our kingdoms and people particularly to rehearse the good of offices that have passed betwixt Us with a princelie expression of your Maiesties desire for continuance and increase thereof. Wherein as Wee are sensible of your good affection towards Us so Wee pray your Maiestie our deare brother to rest assured that Wee will concurre with you in an effectual endeavor to continue that love and amitie betwixt your and our people. And considering this happie alliance grew first from the faithfull services which our nation the English did to that State when to their great charge and losse they discovered the Port of Saint Nicolas and began the trade there with their most usefull commodities. Wee hope even in that respect that your Maiestie our deare Brother will not onelie continue and confirme the libertie and freedom granted to our subiects in all parts of your kingdomes of Russia to sell their commodities and to buy the commodities of your Maiesties subjects and strangers as in former times they have done but will also extend unto them a more speciall respect and favor then to other nations whose trade in your Dominions is both of less continuance and not of equall merit.

Besides, Whereas by our former Letters Wee have entreated your Maiestie our deare brother to give license to our Marchants to goe with their Shippes over the new discovered barre of Mormenski to prevent the like great losses that have latelie falne upon them by the shallownes of the water upon the olde barre and have also desired you to appoint some Nobleman of worth and qualitie well esteemed by your Imperiall Maiestie to protect our Marchants and redress their iust complaints and to further their trade upon all occasions of resort to your Maiesties presence.⁸⁷ Wee hope you have already, or at least upon this our second earnest request that you wilbe pleased accordinglie to give your effectual order therein. And for our parts, Wee wilbe most readie to express our love and respect unto you our deare brother by performing all good offices for your honor and the welfare of your subiects, and will not onelie give no aide to anie that shall seeke your disturbance but will also do our best to dissuade and hinder such uniust attempts.

87 See [7] and n. 59.

And whereas for supplie of your occasions you have by a former letter desired our permission and order for a provision of Muskets, etc., made in our Kingdome and transported for your Maiesties service by our Subiect John Cartwright who brought your Maiesties letters and for your sake was admitted to our hand.⁸⁸ Wee for our respect to your Maiestie our deare brother, have given free leave to transport the same accordinglie.

Moreover to testifie our love and respect to you our deare brother Wee have also according to your Maiesties request by a third letter given expresse order to the Chancellor of our Universitie of Cambridge that John Elmson, sonne of your principall Interpreter sent hither to enable himself in Phisicke and other Sciences for your Imperiall service shall at his returne out of France have all the furtherance that our Doctors there can give him. And we have also commanded the colledg of our Doctors of Phisick in this our Imperiall Cittie of London to give him at his repaire hither free accesse to all their exercises and lectures and to assist him in what they may to make him completely furnished to take care of the bodily health of your Maiestie, so great a Prince and our deare brother which Wee very heartily wish unto you.⁸⁹

In like manner Wee have given order for his convenient maintenance here, and wilbe wanting in nothing to him thus recommended unto Us by your Maiestie whose gracious favor to our subiects particularlie recommended by Us Wee acknowledge with hartie thanks. So Wee wish wee may strive onelie in doing honor each to other that our Dominions though farre divided by Sea and Land may be ioyned by free and immediate commerce not suffering others to interpose therein to the preiudice of both our States as our agent Fabian Smith whom Wee have commanded to attend your Maiestie with theise our letters, will in some perticulers represent unto you as occasion doth require and which Wee thinke may be worthy your Maiesties wise consideration. Wee wish unto your Maiestie our good Brother prosperous successe in all your princelie affaires. Written in our Imperiall Cittie of London and in our royall Pallace there, the yeare since *Christ's* birth 1631 and the 20th day of May.

Charles R.

The inclusion of the plumed emblem of the heir on this letter is significant and advertises the security of the dynasty. Note also the words 'imperiall Cittie' in the body of the letter with reference to the college of physicians indicating the usage of that term has extended beyond the pro forma closing of the letter.

At the center of the top border is the Stuart coat of arms. To its right is a cartouche showing fleurs-de-lis, rose, and thistle; to the left is the same displaying a

88 Regarding Cartwright, see [23].

89 Regarding Elmson, see above, n. 60.

framed, open gold crown holding three feathers (plumes), which is the emblem of the heir apparent. It is displayed here for the first time in recognition of the first year of Prince Charles who was born on 29 May 1630. On the left side are two cartouches, the first of the three English lions passant guardant, the second showing the three fleur-de lis of France. On the right side are similar cartouches, one displaying the Scottish lion in red on gold, the other one showing the Irish harp on an azure ground. Dolphins are incorporated into the scrollwork across the top.

[23] 20 May 1631, F. 35, op. 2, no. 59, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 54.5 × 64 cm.

Charles by the grace of *God*, King of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

To the most reverend great Lord our deare Cousin and frend *Philoret Nekitch* by the will of *God* the holie Patriarch of the Imperiall citie of Mosco and of all Russia sendeth greeting.

Most reverent great Lord our deare Cousin and Frend, Wee have understood by severall letters receaved from our good brother, the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michaell Feodorowich* of all Russia sole commander, your renowned Sonne, and from your Grace our good Cousin, that our letters were honorable receaved of you both. Wee are also informed that our Marchants, by the speciall grace and favor of his Maiestie and your selfe, have both obtained their ancient priviledges and, as Wee suppose (hearing nothing to the contrarie), have gotten libertie to go with their shippes over the new barre at Mormensky and (which importeth them much) have for their protector in their affaires assigned to them (according to our desire) a Nobleman of honor and trust and of neare accesse to you both. Now for these expressions of a loving affection towards Us We are verie thankfull and will returne the like good offices upon all occasions on our part. For the present, according to that desired by his Maiestie our good Brother, We have given order aswell to the Governor of the companie of our Marchants here, trading Russia, as also to John Cartwright (who came over for this business) for the provision and free transportation of two thousand Muskets for his Maiesties service. And for anie that shall attempt the preiudice and hurt of his Maiestie our deare brother or his Estates, wee will not onelie give no encouragement or assistance to them, but contrariwise will by all meanes dissuade and hinder such uniust practises, and in what Wee may, procure and further the peace and tranquillitie of that great Empire wherewith Wee and our noble progenitors have had ancient and firme alliance, which we will always endvor to preserue for the good of both our crownes and kingdoms.

Wee have also given order in our Universitie of Cambridge and with our colledge of Doctors in London for the perfect instruction of John Elmson, the

sonne of John Elmsen in the studie of phisicke for his Maiesties service and for defraying of his necessarie charge here when he shall returne out of France.⁹⁰

And whereas by your last letter it pleased your Grace our deare Cousin to signifie unto Us that you had cawsed our factor Thomas Wiche [Wyche] to be furnished this last yeare with thirtie thousand Chetfords of seuerall sorts of graine, and that more could not then be granted by reason of the barrenesse of that season.⁹¹ Wee do give his Maiestie our good brother and your Grace our deare Cousin verie hartie thanks for this your noble courtesie. And for the remainder of the hundred thousand chetfords which we formerlie desired, Wee hope and now desire againe (for the same urgent and pressing occasions mentioned in our first letters) through your Graces favor, and our good Cousin, *God* sending better store, it may be supplied to our said factor Thomas Wiche [Wyche] the next winter. Our pleasure herein and the furtherance of this our seruice Wee have imposed by special chardg to our Agent Fabian Smith. Lastlie for that Wee have been informed that some have attempted to offer wrongs and to cast aspersions upon our subiects in Russia, which reports as Wee are not apte to beleeeve, so Wee are confident that, neither his Maiestie our good brother, nor your Grace our good Cousin, in regard of your great wisdoms and good affection towards Us, will not give credit to such detractors nor leave unproved and unpunisht the raisers of such false rumors, which good Princes can in no wise abide or suffer. And so We pray your Grace our good Cousin to rest assured of our perticuler favor and respect to your person and dignitie.

Given in our Imperiall cittie of London in our pallace of Westminster the yeare since the birth of our Lord and Savior *Iesus Christ* 1631, the 20th day of May.

Charles R.

See the letter to the tsar [22]; it now seems customary to send a second letter to the Patriarch. Nevertheless, it is not clear why this day two letters were sent.

On the top border is a cartouche with a finely limned Bishop's mitre, crossed with a crosier and staff behind it, placed on a crimson pillow on a deep blue ground. Surrounding the cartouche and down the side borders is gold scrollwork, shaded in deep red to add dimensionality and once gilded. The initial 'C' is gold without royal emblems.

⁹⁰ See above, n. 60.

⁹¹ See above, n. 67.

[24] 20 January 1632, *F.* 35, *op.* 2, *no.* 55. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 48 × 63.5 cm. See *Fig.* 5.

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God King of great Brittain France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

To the most excellent and reverend great Lord *Feloret Nekitich* the holie Patriarch of Mosco and of all Russia.

Right excellent great Lord, Wee have written Our Princelie letters to your Graces renowned Sonne the Emperor and great Duke *Michaell Pheodorowich* of all Russia sole Comander in favor of a French Nobleman, the Marquis D'Assideuil [Marquis d'Exideuil], who as Wee are informed being uniustly and undeservedlie accused by his owne Servant one Rousel [Jacob Roussel], a Frenchman, to be false and ill affected to his Imperiall Maiestie and the State, is thereupon imprisoned in the Towne of Costrom in the Territories of Mosco and hath there remayned in durance for the space of two yeares as Wee are given to understand. Forasmuch as Wee have had frequent experience of Your Graces readinesse in furthering and recommending the affaires of such for whom Wee have bene pleased to interpose Our princely mediation with your Graces renowned Sonne.

Wee doe now likewise request your Grace Our good Cousin to affoord your best furtherance in this Our request for the enlargement and release of the said Marquis D'Assideuil upon oath to beare himself for the time to come with all due respect and fidelitie to his Imperiall Majesty and the State.⁹² For which acte of Christian charitie and compassion in your Grace to a man of honor and merit, innocently suffering, besides the perticular respect unto Us Wee shall willinglie make it appeare that Wee are both sencible of this courtesie and will shew the same by the effects that shall follow upon all occasions. Given in Our Imperiall Cittie of London in Our royall Pallace there the year since Christ's birth 1631, and the twentieth day of January.

Charles R.

In this letter the titles of both Charles and the Patriarch revert to earlier versions (see [16, 19, 20]), unlike those used in the letter of 20 May 1631 ([23]). It is not clear why Charles was writing on behalf of Exideuil.

The limning is similar in color and design to the last four letters. There are no emblems of state. The scrollwork contains grotesques and fish, including a large

92 See S. Konovalov, *OSP*, VIII (1958), p. 123 and nn. 2–4. The full title of the Marquis was: “Charles de Tallerand, prince de Chalais, marquis d'Exideuil, comte de Gringnols, baron de Belleville et de Marenil.” He went to Russia in 1630 with Jacob Roussel as an evoy of Gábor Bethlen.

sea monster chasing a lion across the top of the letter. The initial 'C' is a serpent of sorts, celtic in design.

[25] 30 May 1632, F. 35, op. 2, no. 60, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 50 × 62 cm.

Charles by the grace of God King of great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith etc.,

To the most high mightie and right noble Prince the greate Lord Emperour and greate Duke Michael Phedorwich of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*] and of many other Kingdomes Lord and conquerour, Greeting.

Greate and mightie lord our dearest brother and friend, being still given to understand of your greate preparations for your intended warres and taking into our roiall consideration that the service of those gentlemen our Subjects whose approved valer and experience in martiall affaires maie be verie convenient and usefull for the advancement of your Maiesties service Wee have here-upon taken this particular occasion by theis our special Letters both in regard of the greate respecte we have to your Maiestie and the prosperitie of your greate affaires and in contemplation of the favor wee beare to men of worth and meritt, To recommend unto your Emperiall Maiestie this bearer our wel-beloved Subiect James Bannatine,⁹³ a Lieutenant Colonell in the warres, for one that hath given verie ample testimony to the world of his employments, valor and worth throughout Germany, Swethland, Poland, and the lowe Countries. And for as much as hee most earnestlie desireth to serve your Majestie therefore at his humble request Wee have been pleased to license him to repaire unto your imperiall Dominions with these our letters desiring that your roiall Maiestie our deare brother would for our sake be graciouslie pleased to graunt him such employment in your service as you shall find him capable of, and wee doubt not but his carriage shall meritt your high favors by his vigillent care and faithfulness therein answerable to this our roiall recommendation.

And soe our most deare brother Allie and good friend, wee praie to God that your soverainitie maie longe and gloriouslie raigne over your greate and famous Kingdomes and that your royall Maiestie maie happily prosper in all the royall affaires you take in hand. Given at our royall Pallace of whithall the fourth daie of May in the yeare of our most blessed Saviour Jesus Christ one

93 James Bannatine (Bannatyne) had been a Scottish officer in Swedish service. He carried this letter of recommendation to the tsar, and also one from the Prince of Orange. He was rejected for the tsar's service however, "on the pretext that the Tsar's title was incomplete in the Prince's letter." SSNE, 1922.

thowsand six hundred thirtie two, And of our Raigne of greate Britaine, France and Ireland the eight.

Charles R.

This is probably not Norgate's work. There is no color in the design which is simple gold pigment scrollwork, each scroll containing at the center a thistle or Tudor rose. The design is similar to [5] but more crudely done than [12] and [14]. At the center top is a line drawing in gold of a crowned shield emblazoned with the emblems of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. The initial 'C' and first line of the title 'harles By The' are in block capitals painted in gold pigment and shaded in red to give dimensionality. The borders are ruled off from the text in blue lines.

[26] 18 June 1632, F. 35, op. 2, no. 61, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 36.5 × 36.5 cm.

Charles by the gr[ace of God King of England, S]cotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the faith, etc.

To Our deare and loving Brother the most high mig[hty and right noble Prince the g[reat Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*] and of many other kingdoms Lord and Conquerer, Greeting.

Most excellent and most renowned Prince Our most deare Brother and frend. Your Maiesties letters lately sent unto Us came safely to Our royall hands and were most welcome unto Us because they conteyned a larg and full expression of your Princely love and frendship, and great desire to maintaine and continew that ancient correspondence so well settled betwixt Our Crownes and Kingdomes with the entercourse of free trade and such liberties and immunities as by our Marchants have formerly bene inioyed. For all which Wee give your Maiestie Our deare Brother most hartie and ample thanks and withall Wee assure your Maiestie of Our like sincere and hartie affection towards you Our dear Brother and of Our gracious favor towards all of your obedient subiects and of our readines to concurre in all things which may advance your Maiesties most noble designes and the common good. And therefore for your Maiesties sake Wee have entertained with Princely [*MS torn*] all [*MS torn*] whome you Our deare Brother did recommend unto Us the last year and gave order for their free transportation without charge from hence to Messina in Sicilia [*MS torn*] their owne country as they themselves desired. And moreover whereas your Maiestie Our good Brother the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of [*MS torn*] sole commander, desired by your Princely letters for the supply of your martiall affaires, Our royall Licence aswell to serve men in Our kingdomes as also to export munition for your [*MS torn*] have accordinglie out of Our love and princely respect

of your Maiestie Our deare Brother freely condescended to both and have not onely permitted Our welbeloved Collonell Thomas [Saunderson] to make a levy of 2,000 of Our Subiects,⁹⁴ but also commanded Our Servant Sir John Mericke [Merrick], Knight, Governor and Our Marchants of the Company trading your Maiesties [*MS torn*] whose care and zeale for the advancement of your Maiesties service Wee doe highly commend to use all diligence for furthering your Maiesties affaires And for such arms and [*MS torn*] your Maiestie hath now desired (besides what was sent the last yeare) Wee have given free leave to provide and export the same out of Our Kingdomes; Soe that Wee hope in all things [*MS torn*] your Maiestie Wee have given full content and satisfaction. Now because most deare Brother Wee have receaved no answere of Our letters formerly sent to your Maiestie and to Our deare Cousin your [*MS torn*] Father, the right reverend great Lord *Felaret Nekitich* the holy Patriarke of Mosco and of all Russia in the behalfe of Our Marchants for your royall favor and leave to passe [*MS torn*] shippes to your Port of ArchAngell, over the new discovered barre Berozava Ouste, the olde barre of Pudezemfe by reason of the shallownes of waters provin[g] [danger]ous and every yeare lesse water then other, that one of their Shippes two years since, coming over the same was cast away upon it, and now the last yeare, another of their ships [*MS torn*] on that barre, receaved such a hurt that both Shippes, goods, and men are perished in the Seas to the great damage of Our Marchants and heavy losse of so many of Our poore sub[iects] [per]ished in that Shipwracke, whose safetie and welfare Our princely nature doth most tenderly affect.

Wee are therefore moved to renew Our former request to your Maiestie Our good Brother [*MS torn*] but you wilbe pleased for Our sake to give to Our Marchants a satisfactory answere on this behalfe, which Our Agent Thomas Wich [Wyche] will attend, for whom Wee have written [confi]dentiall letters to you Our deare Brother to accept him as Our Agent to negotiate the affaires of Us and Our subiects there, in the place of the late deceased Fabian Smith [*MS torn*] letters which he will deliver your Majestie may appeare. Soe Wee wish to your Majestie Our good Brother all health, and happiness, with prosperous successe in all your most royall affaires, Given in Our royall Pallace of Greenwich the eighteenth day of June in the yeare of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ 1632, and in the eighth yeare of Our raigne of England, Scotland, France and Ireland.

Charles R.

Aside from the munitions deal, the letter has an additional importance because it introduces a new Agent. Clearly the decoration was extravagant, the letters of

94 Concerning Saunderson, see above, n. 86.

the King's name are in gold and about one and a half inches high. Unfortunaeley the king's initial and all of the borders have been cut off. In addition, a rectangular section in the middle of the text is missing as a result of cutting out the top of the endorsement on the reverse. (See above [20] and [27].)

[27] 18 June 1632, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 62, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 54.5 × 69 cm.*

Charles by the grace of *God* King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.,

To Our deare and loving brother the most high, mightie, and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperor and great Duke Michaell Pheodorowich of all Russia [full titles follow, see [1]] and of manie other kingdomes Lord and Conqueror, greeting.

Most excellent and renowned Prince Our most deare Brother and frend, In place of Our late Agent Fabian Smith Wee now recommend unto your Imperiall Maiestie Our deare Brother, to succeed in his place, this bearer Thomas Wich [Wyche], whom Wee knowe to be a man of long experience in that country well esteemed among your subiects for his honest and faire cariage, and well able to performe those services which concerne the good correspondence betwixt Our crownes and the maintenance of free commerce. Wee do therefore hereby recommend him to you Our deare Brother to accept him as Our Agent and to extend unto him that abundant grace and favor which you were pleased to shew to his predecessor giving credit in all things which shall concern Our service or the occasions of Our Marchants according to such commands as he shall receive from time to time. Herein you shall expresse your Princely love towards Us and Wee shalbe ever ready in like sort to make returne of Our affection and respect towards you Our deare Brother, to whom Wee wish health, and happines with prosperous successe in all your affaires. Given at Our royall Pallace of Greenwich the eighteenth day of June in the yeare of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ 1632 and in the eighth yeare of our raigne of England Scotland France and Ireland.

Charles R.

This was not the announcement of the formation of a new office, as was the case in 1623 (see James I [13]), but the announcement of the replacement of Fabian Smith now deceased. There is no portrait. Across the top border are three emblems of state. In the center is a cartouche displaying a crowned, stylized royal coat of arms held on the left by a fish-tailed unicorn and on the right by a similarly tailed lion, a reference to the uniting theme of sea and land. At the far right corner is a framed roundel displaying a crowned thistle, and a similar roundel on the left displays a crowned Tudor rose. In between the emblems, on the borders are gold

scrolls highlighted in red and intertwined with blue ribbons. The initial 'C' contains no state symbols.

[28] 12 August 1632, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 63, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 64.5 × 73.75 cm. For the reply, see S. Konovalov, OSP, VIII (1958), pp. 124, 153–154.*

Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.,

To our deare and loving Brother, the most high, mightie and right noble Prince, the great Lord Emperor, and great Duke *Michaell Feodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*] and of manie other kingdomes Lord and Conqueror, greeting.

Most Excellent Prince, Our most deare Brother and Frend, Wee have bene ever ready upon all occasions to expresse the affection and love Wee beare to your Imperial Maiestie and by all good offices to preserve and maintaine the good correspondence so long agoe begun, and now so happily continued, betweene Our crownes and kingdomes giving all incouragement to Our Marchants from time to time in their commendable industry in the way of traffick and civill commerce for the mutual benefitt and proffit of both nations. So are Wee no lesse carefull to advance the endeavors and desires of such Our Servants or subiects of honor and qualitie, experimented in militarie discipline as either invited by the glory and fame of your former happie victories in the warres, or drawne on by the luster of your Maiesties renowned and warrelike preparations seeke leave of Us to repaire into your Dominions destinating [*sic*] their lives and fortunes to the service of your Imperiall Maiestie.

Wherefore the Bearer hereof Our trusty and welbeloved Servant Captaine Thomas Lindesey [*Lindsay*], a gentleman of Our privy Chamber descended of the ancient and honorable family of the Barons of Lindesey in our Kingdome of Scotland having humbly besought leave of Us to present himself and service before your Imperiall feete and to beare armes in defence of your Maiestie against your highnes enemies.⁹⁵ Wee have not onely readily condescended to his request, but have thought good to addresse Our effectuall and especiall recomendatory letters to your Maiestie in his favor whereby Wee desire that as the continuance of many yeares service faithfully performed by him and his predecessors to Our Selfe and Our late deare Father of blessed memorie hath worthily approved his industry and fidelitie. So by his experience in the warres as well in the Service of Us, of the Duke and State of Venice, as also in the United Provinces where hee commanded, he hath given good testimony

95 Thomas Lindsay, an army captain from Leith, went to Moscow in 1632 with a letter of recommendation from Charles, but was told that all posts were filled. SSNE 3989.

to the world of his valour, courage, and sufficiency in martiall affaires. Your Imperiall Maiestie wilbe pleased to give him such entertainment and accomodation as a person of his worth and quality may expect or a gentleman of his honorable descent and merit especially recommended by Us may deserve. His earnest desire and request beeing by your gracious and royall favour to be entertained and employed by your highnes to command over a regiment of Horse or Foote in those your Maiesties territories and dominions for the service of your Maiestie when anie important and urgent occasion shalbee offred and soe require Our request for him being that his desire may find that acceptation and himselfe that reception from your royall Maiestie as may enable him for the perfomance of so gracious a resolution tending to the honor, service, and safetie of your Imperiall Maiestie. So Wee wish to your Majesty Our good Brother all health and happines with prosperous successe in all your royall affaires. Given at Our Imperiall Citie of London and in Our royall Pallace there the yeare since *Christ's* birth 1632 and the twelfth day of August.

Charles R.

At the center of the top border is a crowned shield with the Stuart arms in a cartouche frame. Surrounding it are gold scrolls with the Tudor rose and thistle and entwining into a fruit bowl in each corner. The initial 'C' is composed as a twisted grape vine similar to, but less ornate than, that in the letter to the Patriarch [29]. In the middle of each side is an upright lion seated on a vine with the vine encircling his groin. Around the lions are the same scrolls as on the top border, entwined with pink and green flowers with blue and red highlighting, and a blue ribbon entwining through the design. All of the limning is faded and the colors have run from dampness. Regarding the design, see [29], below.

[29] 12 August 1632, F. 35, op. 2, no. 64, RGADA. To Patriarch Filaret. Parchment. 63.5 × 69.5 cm. See Fig. 8.

Charles by the grace of *God* King of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

To the most Excellent and reverend great Lord *Feloret Nekitich* the holy Patriarch of Mosco and of all Russia, greeting.

Right and excellent and reverend great Lord Our deare Cousin and Frend, Wee have recommended to your Imperiall and renowned Sonne this Bearer Our trustie and welbeloved Servant Captaine Thomas Lindesey [Lindsay], a gentleman of Our Privy Chamber and derived from the ancient and honorable family of the Barons of Lindesey in our Kingdome of Scotland, who transported with desire and affection to the service of his Imperiall Maiestie hath humbly besought leave of Us to repaire into those his Maiesties dominions, to the end that by the commandment of his royall Maiestie and employed by him, he may returne hither to levy a Regiment of Our subiects for the service

of that Crowne and State in his Maiesties intended warres. a resolution so generous and full of honor as Wee cannot but affoord this gentleman Our favorable letters of recommendation as well to his Imperiall Maiesty your renowned Sonne, as also to your Grace Our deare Cousin.

And do desire, that as formerly Wee have experimented [*sic*] your Graces readiness to interpose your intercession and mediation with your royall Sonne, in the behalfe of such Our subiects as have had recourse to your favor. So with like successe you wilbe pleased more particularly to expresse the continuance of that good affection, in affording your best assistance to this Our Servant for the facilitating, and attainment of his desire. The long and faithfull service that himself and his predecessors have performed to Us and Our deare Father of blessed memorie, have rendered him worthy of Our recommendation. And his experience in the warres, aswell in the service of Us, as also of the Duke and State of Venice, and of the United Provinces where he commanded, have to the world made good the reputation and opinion of his valour and courage, and every way enabled him for the service of so renowned a Prince. Wherefore Wee desire your Grace Our good cousin that by your mediation with your royall Sonne, hee may find that reception, employment, and entertainment from his Maiesty as may be suteable to a gentleman of his worth and meritt, and may enable him to go thorough with his intention, especially so importantly conducing to the honor and service of his Imperiall Maiestie And Wee shalbe ready to expresse the like willingnes to gratifie his Majestie or your Grace in any thing wherein your Selves or subiects may expect the same at Our hands. Given at Our Imperiall Citie of London and in Our royall Pallace there the yeare since *Christ's* birth 1632, and the twelfth day of August.

Charles R.⁹⁶

The borders are very similar to those in the letter to the tsar indicating that they may have been drafted using a tracing or template. (See [28]). The emblem at the center top displays the flags of Sts. George and Andrew. The initial 'C' is in gold pigment with red highlights. The borders have none of the colors of the tsar's letter, and concomitantly little fading and running of paint wet by damp. Here the brown lions are sitting on gold and white vines highlighted in red. The inspiration for the design could only have come from the work of Giambattista Della Porta and his book On Human Physiognomy (De humana physiognomonia)

96 RGADA 65, the next in the series, is not a royal letter. It concerns a tincture sent to the tsar for the healing of infirmities. It closes from "Your Majesties most obedient servant," without a name but with a note "from the sonne of Francis Anthony, ed. Dr. Coll. London." The letter may have accompanied the 'Tincture of Gold' sent by Anthony to the tsar via Col. Henry Ashton on 22 August 1632. See Appleby, "Dr. Arthur Dee," p. 55.

that linked physical appearance with personality traits and character.⁹⁷ (See above, Chapter 3.)

[30] 19 August 1632, F. 35, op. 2, no. 66, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 61 × 74.5 cm. See Fig. 9.

Charles by the grace of God King of Great Brittane, France, and Ireland, etc.

To the Most High, Mighty, and Right Noble Prince the Great Lord and Emperour and great Duke Michal Phedorowech of all Russia [*full titles follows, see [1]*].

Whereas your Imperiall Maiestie hath been pleased for our sake and out of that entire affection and brotherly love which you have allwaies borne towards us to conferre manie Princely favours upon such of our lovinge subiects as have been willing to tender their best services to your Maiestie amonge whom as wee are given to understand Colonell Henry Ashton our trustie and welbeloved Subiect hath been highly dignified and esteemed for his faithfull service to your Highness.⁹⁸ These graces and favors Wee cannot but remember with all thankefulnes to your Maiestie amonge which, this is not the least that you have been pleased to permit and give him leave to tender his Loyaltie and dutie to us. But by reason of those waightie affaires you have imployed him in, Wee doe againe out of our Princely disposition and love recommend him to your Majesties further service. Given at our Imperiall Cittie of London in Our Royall Pallace the yeare since Christ's birth 1632 and the nineteenth day of August.

Charles R.

The borders are limned on an ochre ground that is ruled off from the text in dark red with a dot-dash design. At the center top is a cartouche displaying a lion standing on a crown. To the right of center, a suit of Roman armour set against a red flag displaying the colors of St. George, a gold shield, and a canon with a munitions barrel; in the corner is a cartouche with the emblem of a harp on faded azure. To the left of center are two shields and swords against a red flag, a crowned red shield with three gold lions guardant passant, a medieval helmet with a quiver and arrow and, in the corner, a cartouche with the emblem of three fleurs-de-lis. Below that, on the left border, is a suit of armor with swords and a mace, a drum, a medieval helmet with black and grey plumes followed, at the bottom of the border, by an oval shield with a quiver, a stylized mace, and swords crossed behind it. On the right hand, under the top corner emblem of the harp, is a shield with swords crossed behind it, below it a helmet with crimson and grey plumes, and below that a drum with quiver, arrow, a mace behind it, underneath of which is a tent. Closely

97 Giambattista Della Porta, *De humana physiognomonia* (Turin, 1586). See Lib. III, p. 19.

98 Henry Ashton returned to Russia from England c. 22 August 1632. See above, n. 96.

interwoven around the military motifs are red and green ribbons. The gold and blue (very faded) initial 'C' is in a box on a red-swirled ground. Within the semi-circle of the initial is a crowned lion holding the Stuart coat of arms.

The handwriting of this document is unique. The titles of both King Charles and the Emperor of Russia are printed in gold in stylized upper case letters. The message itself is in brown ink in a smaller italic hand with standard upper and lower case letters.

[31] 24 December 1633, F. 35, op. 2, no. 67, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 39 × 66 cm. For the reply (in Russian), see S. Konovalov, *OSP*, IX (1960), pp. 33, 43–44.

Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our most deare and loving Brother the most high, mightie, and right noble Prince, the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow see [1]*] and of many other Kingdomes Lord and Conqueror, Greeting.

Most excellent Prince Our deare Brother and Frend, You may please to remember that some yeares past, upon your instance and request to Our most deare Father King *James* of ever blessed memorye to have sent into your great kingdomes of Russia a skillfull and learned Physician for the service of your royall person. His Maiestie for the princely affection and singular respect he bare to you his deare Brother, made choice of Doctor Arthur Dee, a sworne Phisition to himself and Our renowned Mother Queene *Anne*,⁹⁹ and did by his princely letters the same time recommend the said Arthur to that service wherein (as Wee are given to understand) he hath faithfully served your Maiestie theise twelve yeares, truly performing that dutie to your great contentment and Our desire, and hath receaved from your Maiestie Our good Brother and from our deare Cousin your most noble Father the reverend great Lord *Feloret Nekitich*, the holy Patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia much favor and grace for which Wee give your Maiestie Our good Brother and our deare Cousin our royall and hartie thanks in his behalf.

And to observe Our constant custome of grace and princely bountie in preferring Our deare fathers Servants to the attendance of our owne person and Our children, which by *Gods* blessing are increased and to take away suspicion that a gentleman of Doctor Dee's merit, by his long absence from Our presence should be forgotten of Us. Wee have upon Our own gracious motion, and iust regard of his vertue thought expedient to desire your Maiestie Our deare Brother, the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich*

99 Anne of Denmark, sister of Christian IV. Regarding Dee, see above, n. 48.

of all Russia sole commander to permitt the said Doctor Arthur Dee, with his family now to returne unto Us, with such grace and favor as your Munificence affoordeth to Gentlemen of his qualitie and desert. But withall Wee are so carefull that your Maiestie Our deare Brother should not be unprovided of such meanes for your princely health (which *God* long continue) that if upon his returne your Maiestie shall see cause and please to desire it, Wee will not faile to send unto you another learned and experienced Phisitian to supply his place. So are Wee most desirous to correspond with your Majestie Our deare Brother in all Offices of frendship which may give you best contentment. Given in Our Imperiall Citie of London at Our Pallace of Westminster, the yeare since the birth of Our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* 1633, the fower and twentieth day of December in the ninth yeare of Our raigne over Our great Kingdomes.

Charles R.

In 1627 Charles had thanked the tsar for his care of Dee [2].

On the borders the gold scrollwork shaded in red with green with blue woven through is similar in style and color to [21]. There are no emblems of state on the document. A single dolphin appears in the scrolls at the top. The initial 'C' is in the same gold, blue, and red pallet. The decorative borders have been cut across the bottom.

[32] 22 June 1634, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 68, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 53 × 60 cm. For the reply, see S. Konovalov, OSP, IX (1960), pp. 33, 44–46.*

Charles by the grace of *God* King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

To Our most deare and loving Brother the most high mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperor great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow see [1]*] and of many other kingdomes Lord and Conqueror, greeting.

Most excellent [*illegible*] Prince Our most deare Brother and frend. By our last letters Wee expressed the great contentment Wee received by a former from your [*illegible*] Maiestie which declared unto Us your most Princely and Brotherly affection to Our person and State and your desire to continew and confirme the ancient correspondence betwixt Our Crownes and kingdomes [*illegible*] establishing free trade, with such liberties and immunities as Our Marchants had formerly enioyed from your Maiestie and your royall Progenitors for which Wee returned to you Our deare Brother [*illegible*] Our hartly and ample thanks but withall expressed Our royall affection to your Maiestie in answering your expectation and desire for levyng of Men in Our kingdomes and making provision of Munition and Armes for your Maiesties service.

And the better to comply with your Maiestie Our deare Brother in all royall and frendly offices Wee recommended unto your Maiestie as our Agent Our servant Thomas Wiche [Wyche], a man (as Wee are informed) well accepted at your Court. The fruits of Our affection being so nobly accepted by your Maiestie wee could not but expect that Our request made on the behalf of Our Marchants for permitting their shippes to passe to your Port of Archangell over the new discovered Barre of Berozava Oust should be granted unto them, the same being of no preiudice to your Maiestie or to your people. Wee cannot therefore do less then take notice and give knowledge to you Our deare Brother that neither Our Marchants have yet obtained your Maiesties grant for that passage, nor Our selfe ever receaved answeere of Our royall letters in that particuler nor doth Our Agent (for ought Wee heare) find that respect and dispatch from your great Officers which a publique Minister may expect. Besides, Our Marchants complaine that both they and their Factors are daily wronged and oppressed by your Officers, Ministers and subiects. And in particuler, that by pretence of a Patent obtained from your Imperiall Maiestie to some particuler persons to import and sell Tobacco, the Patenties and your Maiesties Officers by their rigorous searching of all Boats and Sleds that come laden with goods betwixt Archangell and Mosco both hinder their trade and lay open their goods to losse and imbeazeling, and also to imprison and beate their Factors and Servants to their further damage and charge, as also that a late injustice hath bene done (by meanes of those Patentees to Our subiect Phillip Colly [Colley] by [*illegible*] his person,¹⁰⁰ and imposing a fine of five hundred Robles upon him under pretence that a Russ Servant of his had sold a small quantitie of Tobacco whereof (as Wee are credibly informed) Our said subiect was altogether ignorant and innocent.

Further instances of their violences and oppressions Wee leave to the relation of Our Agent as also the difficulties Our Marchants find in the ordinary course of Justice for recovering of their just debts and their losses sustayned by Robbers upon the high wayes in your Maiesties Dominions. All which importing no lesse then the overthrowe of the trade of Our subiects in those parts, contrary to the auncient correspondence which hath so long bene both honorable and profitable to both of our Crownes and People Wee have thought fit plainly to represent to your Princely Selfe Our deare brother by these Our letters because Wee verily beleeeve that these excesses have neither bene done nor permitted by your Maiesties knowledge but have crept in

100 Philip Colley was a member of the Company. Arel, "Muscovy Company," p. 111. He had been an apprenticed in Moscow in the 1620s to Benjamin Decrow's son. Appleby, "*Dr. Arthur Dee*," p. 36.

by corruption or neglect of some Officers. Wee for Our parts being not onely disposed to continue but to increase all good intelligence with your Majestie And so Wee hartily commend both the royall person and affaires of you Our deare Brother to the protection of *God* Allmightie. Written in Our Imperiall Citie of London and in Our royall Pallace there the year since *Christ's* birth 1634 and the two and twentieth day of June in the tenth yeare of Our raigne over our great Kingdomes.

Charles R.

Thomas Wyche was the English Agent to the tsar's court, see [23].

All of the borders have been cut off the letter. The decoration that remains is the large cadel 'C' shaped in gold as a twisted grape vine similar to [28] and followed by the remainder of the King's name. The red line that separated the borders from the text is partially visible.

[33] 5 January 1636, F. 35, op. 2, no. 69 RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 50.5 × 60cm. See S. Konovalov, *OSP*, IX (1960), pp. 33, 60–62.

Charles by the grace of Almighty *God* King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our most deare and loving Brother, the most high mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michaell Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles to follow see [1]*] and many other kingdomes Lord and Conqueror, Greeting,

Most excellent Prince Our most deare Brother and Frend, Wee have received by your faithfull Post and Interpreter Hans Angler, your Imperiall letters which Wee esteeme as sure pledges of your Princely and hearty affection in imparting unto Us so freely and fully the whole progresse of your affaires both for warre and peace.¹⁰¹

Indeed victorie is *Gods* alone and submission to his providence is a rare marke of honor in a mightie Prince. But that you the great Lord Our deare Brother should be so ill served by a treacherous General,¹⁰² Wee cannot without great indignation understand. And Wee magnifie your Justice in that execution you have caused to be done upon him. But Wee heare with more contentment of that perpetuall peace which is the more honorable because it proceeded from a religious tendernesse of sparing the effusion of Christian blood. And Wee ascribe it also to your great wisdom that thereby you

101 Hans Angler was a translator who had gone to Moscow in 1603 with a Hanseatic embassy and was employed by Boris Godunov from 1604. Appleby, "*Dr. Arthur Dee*," p. 40. See S. Konovalov, *OSP*, IX (1960), p. 33; see also Simon Digby's letter, *ibid.*, pp. 60–62.

102 I.e., Alexander Stuart. See below and above, n. 78.

have setled your affaires for the future so as henceforth you may inioye in much securitie the larg command and great wealth of so many contries and kingdomes. In both which respects Wee hartily congratulate this happie agreement and wish it firme and prosperous, that thereby the cleare worth and glorye of you Our deare Brother may be renowned in all partes. And as Wee are sencible of whatsoever befalleth to you Our deare Brother in your great affaires, So Wee give you harty thanks for your love and freedome in the communication thereof and in like manner will acquaint you Our deare brother with what may concerne Us and Our Friends and Allies as occasion shall require, And will readily concurre with you, as Our Predecessors have done, in all Offices of correspondence and brotherly Entercourse for the common good of Us both and of Our subjects. So Wee wish to you Our deare Brother good health and happiness. And according to your desire have given speedy dispatch to your Post for his return. Written in Our Imperiall Citie of London in Our royall Pallace of Westminster the fifth day of January Anno 1635.

Charles R.

The Peace of Polianovka ending the Smolensk war with Poland begun in 1632 was signed on 14 June 1634.¹⁰³ Four months later Captain Stuart obtained letters of marque from the King of Poland to seize Russian goods, which he did, and took them on his own ship to Scotland. The Muscovy Company wrote to Secretary Windebank expressing concern that the tsar would see this as treason.¹⁰⁴

The borders, ruled off from the text in a deep red dash-dot-dot-dot-dash pattern, are limned in gold scrollwork edged in red to provide shadow, with green and gold leaves highlighted in dark blue. At the center top is a crimson (faded) and gold crowned Tudor rose surrounded on each side by a dauphin. It is the only symbol of state on the letter. The initial 'C' is in the same pallet as the border designs.

[34] 20 December 1636, F. 35, op. 2, no. 72, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 57 × 72.5 cm.

[Charles] King of Great Brittain France and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.

To the high and most mightie Michael Fedorowich by the great mercie of God. . . . Greeting, High and most mightie Prince,

Upon your Maiesties service [*illegible*] John Cartwright to transport out of this our [*illegible*] quantity of munition, arms and ordnance for your service.¹⁰⁵ Neverthelesse all the said [*illegible*] Hee accordingly delivered at

103 Regarding Stuart, see above, n. 78; also, P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 200.

104 SP 16/307:79; CSPD 1635–1636, p. 37.

105 Regarding Cartwright, resident in Moscow, see [23]. Appleby, "Dr. Arthur Dee," p. 53.

your Imperiall citie of Moscow into the hands of the officers appointed . . . pounds sterling were (as he saith) turned back upon him so as to his great loss and prejudice they lay as a [illegible] upon his hand the space of four years [illegible] and ordinance were againe accepted of in the name of your Maiestie our dear Brother [illegible] upon a new contract for payment for the same in tabacco onely with this cond[ition] [illegible] Wherefore hee was inforced to take a long chargeable and dangerous journey over land to sell his said tobacco to the ambassador sent by our dear Cosin [illegible] was absolutely concluded betwixt the ambassador and our [illegible] Wee are informed by letters from our good Cosen the Duke of Holstein that the tobacco [illegible] sealed up by some of the Officers of you, our dear Brother, [illegible] that same part thereof hath beene solde to your subiects and How by the sealing hee being disabled by this means to perform this or any other contract which he has [illegible] suffereth both losse damage and reproach, his goods perishing [illegible] and he being disabled by this means to [illegible] We are assured hath fallen out without the approbation or knowledge of your Maiestie Our deare brother, who upon your Imperiall Letters written to us and also upon promise made by your royal Officers not onely of due payment [illegible] Noble Kneas Ivan B[illegible] Charcaska [Kniaz' Ivan Borisowich Cherkasskii]¹⁰⁶ had not [illegible] favorably given him assistance [illegible] your Imperiall Vertues and confidently your own justice with assurance of his rea[son] [illegible] worthy of our recommendation [illegible] your Maiestie also [illegible] Royal Pallace of Hampton court the Twentieth day of December in the Twelfth Yeare of Our [illegible].

Charles [R.]

All of the decoration around this letter has been excised. There are also two rectangular blocks in the center of the text that were cut out, presumably for the endorsement on the reverse. The text itself is very faded; the right hand side of the letter is unreadable. The date is confirmed by an early archivist's note, see Appendix.

[35] 7 March 1637, F. 35, op. 2, no. 70, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 57 × 69 cm. See Fig. 10.

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To Our deare and loving Brother the most high mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michaell Pheodorowich* of

¹⁰⁶ A *Kniaz'*, or prince, was usually the ruler of an independent principality or a descendant thereof. Ivan Borisowich, nephew of Patriarch Filaret, held "a whole portfolio of offices in the chanceries." Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*, p. 56. See also [40].

all Russia [*full titles follow see [1]*] and of many other kingdoms Lord and Conqueror, Greeting.

Most excellent Prince, Our most deare Brother and Frend, Wee have received and perused your Imperiall letters of dismission and recommendation of Our subject Sir Alexander Lesley [Leslie],¹⁰⁷ Knight, for his true and faithfull service done to your Imperiall Maiestie Wee have likewise understood from him your Maiesties most gracious favors and princely entertainment both towards him and all others Our subjects and stangers which is by Us most kindly accepted and greatly esteemed. And because Our said subiect hath now occasion to returne unto those parts for some private business of his owne, having humbly petitioned Us for Our royall letters of like recommendation Wee do accordingly recommend him to your Imperiall Maiestie Our deare Brother, for the continuance of your favor towards him. As Wee shalbe also ready to performe the like to any you shall please to recomend unto Us, And by all meanes to expresse the desire Wee have to continew and advance more and more the amitie and good correspondence betwixt Our Crownes and Kingdomes. Given in Our Imperiall Citie of London and at Our royall Palace there the viith day of March Anno 1636.

Charles R.

Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul was from the Aberdeenshire branch of the family and had traveled back and forth between Russia and Scotland during the mid-thirties.

This is the first of several letters with arabesque designs. (See Charles I [37, 38–41, 43]). Each one is unique but they all contain motifs and ornaments similar to each other and to those found in the engravings of Jacques Androuet dit du Cerceau and Clement Perret.¹⁰⁸ This and the subsequent letters [36–39] use ‘Christian’ in Charles’s title. The border on this letter contains only loosely interlaced scrolls connecting small limned tents, putti, vases, jewels, leaves, and cartouches. They are finely limned and colored on translucent parchment. The designs emanating from the oval onyx at the center top to the corners on both sides are symmetrical. The patterns down the left and right borders are the same conception but the execution of the designs and colors are not symmetrical. At the bottom left is a man’s face, at the right a woman’s face.

107 Leslie shot Colonel Saunderson after the siege of Smolensk in 1633. Twenty-two merchants drew a “Declaration of the Companie in Mosco against Collonell Lesley the 7 May 1634”. Appleby, “*Dr. Arthur Dee*,” pp. 43–45. See above, n. 86.

108 Regarding Androuet, see Chapter 3, n. 6; for Perret, *Ibid.*, n. 57.

*Renaissance designs similar to these have been described as ones “which please the eye without making any serious call upon the intellect.”*¹⁰⁹ Certainly the letters of the 1630s fit that description. The gold cadell ‘C’ encircles the crowned royal arms. On the initial itself are three oval emblems or medallions; at the top a crowned, seated lion on a throne; to the left a lion standing on a throne; and at the bottom a crowned lion guardant. Above the rest of the name “harles” is a gold and green scrollwork border.

[36] 25 March 1637, F. 35, op. 2, no. 71, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 56.5 × 71 cm. See Fig. 6. For the reply, see S. Konovalov, *OSP*, IX (1960), pp. 34, 46–47.

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To Our deare and loving Brother, the most high mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*] and of many other kingdomes Lord and Conquerer greeting.

Most Excellent Prince, Our most deare Brother and frend, Your royall disposition and good affection towards us, abundantly testified by your last letters sent by our owne Messenger or Post, and also by the entercourse of many friendly offices betwixt Us, give confidence that your Imperiall Maiestie Our deare Brother will gratifie Us in that, which without preiudice to your affaires may accommodate our Navye, which is an important part of that power Wee haue to assist Our good frends and annoye Our enemies when there shalbe cause.

To fitt our Shipps for service from time to time requireth a convenient provision of Tarre, which is a commoditie abounding in your great and spacious Dominions but prohibited to be exported without our Maiesties special license. Wee do therefore by thiese Our royall letters recommend to your favor the Bearer, Our Servant and Factor Henry Thurstone,¹¹⁰ to whome Wee desire you, Our deare brother, to grant License and free power to buy of your people within your said Dominions and Countreys, three or fower thousand Hogsheads of Tarre yearly for seven yeares together as hee or his Agents can best procure it of them. And this being for the service of Our owne Ships of Warre, wee doubt not but you will permit it (as you do Our Marchants goods) to be exported Custome free. And with that your Maiestie will give order to the Officers of all your Maiesties Castles and Mart Townes that they permit

109 “Renaissance Ornament” by M. Digby Wyatt in Jones, *Grammar of Ornament*, p. 185.

110 See S. Konovalov, *OSP*, IX (1960), p. 34 and n. 4.

and suffer Our said Factor and his Agents as to buy, so without hinderance or molestation quietlie to shippe and export the said Tarre for our Service.

This Wee shall receive from you, Our deare Brother, as a pledge and assurance of your continewed love and favor which Wee will requite on all occasions wherein Our like hartly affection towards your Imperiall person and for the advancement of your affaires may reasonably be expected. Given in Our Imperiall Citie of London and in Our royall Pallace there the 25th day of March Anno 1636.

Charles R.

The gold and red scroll work with greenish-grey leaves highlighted in deep blue is similar to the design and limning on others (Charles I [20, 23, 28, 29, 31]). All of the borders are ruled on both sides with a line of dots and dashes. At the center top border is a cartouche with the royal arms. On each side of it is an English rose and a cowed looking brown lion. At each top corner is an entwined thistle. On the left hand margin is scrollwork in which a lion, similar in design to that on [28] and [29] but with a different facial angle, sits on a vine. Below the lion are a rose and thistle; the border ends in three blue pendants. On the right border is a lion climbing on the vines and trumpeting with a flower, below which is a thistle and a rose, at the end are three pendants. The cadet 'C' and the remaining letters of the King's name are gold, highlighted in red for dimensionality but include no emblems of state.

[37] 13 December 1638, F. 35, op. 2, no. 73, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 56.2 × 75 cm.

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, etc.

To Our most deare and loving Brother, the most high, mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord, Emperor, and great Duke, Michaell Pheodorowich of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*] and of many other Kingdomes Lord and Conqueror, greeting. Most excellent Prince Our most deare Brother and Frend, Wee have received so manie testimonies of your Maiesties royall disposition and affection to Us, with your readiness to comply with all occasions that concerne the safety of Our Kingdomes and Dominions or proffit of Our subiects as Wee are confident that your Imperiall Maiestie Our deare Brother will with like readines gratifie Us in that which, without preiudice to your affaires may conveniently be effected.

To fitt our royall Navie for service from time to time requireth a convenient provision of Tarre, a comoditie abounding in your great and spacious dominions and most usefull for the service of Our Shippes, the exportation whereof being formerlie by your Maiestie granted by Patent to one Julius Wilkinson,



FIGURE 11 Charles I to Tsar Michael, 13 December 1638. RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 73.

a Hollander, for terme of yeares (as Wee are given to understand). Our request is, that the Priviledg or Patent after the expiration of the former granted to the Hollander may for the space of eight yeares to come be conferred upon Our welbelovèd Subiect Thomas Wiche [Wyche], sometimes Our Agent resident at Mosco. Hee paying such consideration for the same as formerly hath bene given by the Hollander. This Wee shall receive as a pledge and assurance of that good correspondence so long and happilie continewèd betweene Our Crownes and Kingdomes. Which Wee shall endeavor to requite so often as your royall Selfe or Subiects shall have occasion to require any testimonye thereof from Us. Given in Our Imperiall Citie of London, and at Our royall Pallace there the 13th of December 1638.

Charles R.

The design on the borders of this letter is similar to that on [36]. At the center top is a cartouche displaying a composite flower of fleur-de-lis, Tudor rose and thistle against a white ground stippled in blue. On either side are two medallions painted as gem stones, onyx and perhaps lapis, surrounded by intricate and detailed arabesques in various shades of blue, green, grey, brown, red and gold. Three quarters of the way down each side is a cartouche of the same color scheme as at the top, the left hand one bearing a crowned 'CR' for Carolus Rex; the right hand one displaying a crowned 'MR' presumably for 'Majestatis Rex'. At the bottom of each side are crossed green palm fronds and laurel leaves tied with gold and, on the right, red ribbon. The large gold and red initial 'C' is surrounded by a scrollwork design in green and blue forming a square. Within the initial is a crowned royal coat of arms with a sword and mace crossed behind it.

[38] 17 December 1639[?], F. 35, op. 2, no. 74, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 58 × 68 cm.

From Charles by the grace of Almightye God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To Our deare and loving Brother the most high, mightie and right noble Prince, the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow see [1]*] and of many other kingdomes Lord and Conqueror, greeting.

Most Excellent Prince, Our most deare Brother and frend, As it is a principall part of Our care, by frequent letters and offices of frendship, to preserve and increase the good correspondence so long and happily continewèd betweene Our Crownes and Kingdomes, So Wee cannot but interpose Our royall mediation and intercession with your Imperiall Maiestie for the releife, protection and encouragement of Our subiects trading in your Dominions, especially when by the sinister practises of those who from hence are entrusted with

theire estates in those parts, they find themselves so preiudiced and defrauded as without timely Justice and due reparation, the discontinuance and decay of Trade most necessarily follow, together with the ruine of the parties interessed therein. Wherefore being given to understand that Raph Bladwell, Henry Twentiman, William Bladwell, and Walter Flecher, being our subiects and now residing in your Dominions have possessed themselves of a great and considerable Estate which of right belongeth to Our welbeloved subiect John Battye, of Our Cittie of London, Marchant, whome by secret and uniust practises they have defrauded, to his utter ruine and undoing.¹¹¹ For redresse of which unsufferable abuse, though Wee have formerly signified Our pleasure by letters from the Lords of our Privie Counsell to Our Agent residing in your Imperiall court, yet have the said Raph Bladwell with his said complices so contumeliously neglected Our commands, as they have hitherto refused to conforme themselves thereunto whereby it is evident that they intend (contrarie to theire dutie and allegiance) to continew their former contempt, and to shelter themselves in those your Maiesties large and spacious Territories from the hand of iustice and punishment for the said Offence which worthily they have deserved, For final reparation whereof and reliefe of Our said poore subject Wee have bene moved with princely compassion to interpose Our royall mediation with your Imperiall Majestie and do earnestlie desire that you wilbe pleased to grant power and authoritie to Our said Agent to seize the persons and Estates of the said Raph Bladwell, Henry Twentiman, William Bladwell and Walter Flecher, who hath order from Us to excuse them to be sent into theise Our Dominions to answere the laws according to theire demerits and to make that reparation to the partie wronged as in Justice and Equitie shalbe thought fit.¹¹²

In the assurance of which Act of royall Justice in your Maiestie and Princelie respect to Us Wee wish unto you Our deare Brother prosperitie and glorie in all your great and Princely designes and leave your Imperiall Majestie to the protection of Almighty *God*. Given at Our Imperiall Citie of London and in Our royall Pallace there the seventeenth day of December, *Anno Domini* 1639.

Charles R.

111 Ralph Bladwell had a house in Vologda. It is unclear where Battye's property was located. Regarding Company houses in Russia at this time, see Arel, "Muscovy Company", chapter 7. Russian grants in the late sixteenth century allowed the Company to establish houses on the Moscow-Archangel route and in Kolmogory, Vologda, Iaroslavl', and Moscow. By 1567 the grant was extended to Novgorod, Pskov, Ivangorod, and Karel as well as to the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan. *Ibid.*, p. 276. See also P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 64.

112 CSPD 1635, no. 52, p. 87.

This is similar in design to [35]. At the center top are the flags of St. George on the left and St. Andrew on the right in a cartouche frame. On each side between the center shield and the corner are two small framed pieces painted to look like gem stones: onyx and carnelian on the right, onyx and lapis on the left. Equally spaced down the left border are carnelian, malachite, and lapis. On the right the stones are malachite, carnelian, and perhaps coral. Between the stones are limned arabesques in shades of red, yellow, blue, green, and brown.

The initial 'C' is deep green and gold surrounding the crowned royal arms that hang as a medallion on the inside. Above the remaining letters in the King's name on the first line is a gold border of grotesques and scrolls at the center of which is an oval emblem of fleurs-de-lis. The designs on the side borders are symmetrical but just irregular enough to indicate that one was not traced from the other.

[39] 4 June 1641, F. 35, op. 2, no. 75, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 62 × 75 cm. Charles by the grace of Almighty God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To Our most deare and loving Brother, the most high, mightie and right noble Prince, the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow see [1]*] and other kingdoms Lord and Conqueror, greeting.

Most excellent deare Brother and Frend, Wee have receaved your Maiesties Imperiall Letters bearing date the 12th of May 1638 in answere to Ours of the 12th of [*illegible*] concerning the wronge done by your Officers to Our trusty and welbeloved Servant and Messenger John Cartwright, wherein is signified that [*illegible*] fower thousand five hundred twentie fower Rubles in silver plate according to agreement that then his Tobacco for eleven thousand [*illegible*] hundred Rubles shalbe delivered unto him, intimating withall that Our said Servant can expect no reparation for his great damage sustayned by a great quantitie of [*illegible*] returned upon him upon pretence that no Comission was given him to bring over the same. So that aswell in that particular, as in others, it is probable [*illegible*] the said Servant hath received great preiudice by the indirect proceeding and sinister practice of Ocolneetha Vassily Evanowich Strestna [Okol'nichii Vasilii Ivanowich Strestna]¹¹³ and others to whom your Maiestie [*illegible*] referred the cause, who being his principall Adversary, was made his Judge and accordinglie proceeded and certified against him with great iniustice and partialitie as Wee are credibly to understand; which yet Wee conceive to be the default of your Officers and without the knowledg of your Imperiall Maiestie. For remedy whereof and relief of Our said Servant, Wee

113 A member of the Boyar Duma.

are once heere to entreat your Imperiall Maiestie That that cause and Processe now extant in your Office of Presulsko [Posol'skii Prikaz],¹¹⁴ (the Originall whereof is attested under the hand of Our Principall Secretary of State,¹¹⁵ and now sent by our said Servant) may by your Maiestie be referred to the hearing and determination of such persons of honor and qualitie as your Maiestie shall thinke fit (Our adversaries onely excepted), to whom Wee desire maybe ioyned Our trusty and welbeloved Servant Simon Digby, Esq.,¹¹⁶ Our Agent now resident with your Imperiall Maiestie, by which faire and honorable proceeding Wee doubt not but Our said servant may find redresse according to the iustice and equitie of his cause. And whereas your Maiestie hath desired by your said letters that Wee would give leave to Our said Servant John Cartwright for his repaire unto your Maiesties Dominions with such Artists as he should thinke fit for the discovery of such Mines and gold and silver Ore as he is confident will redound to the great good and benefitt of your Imperiall Maiestie. Wee being desirous by all occasions to [*illegible*] Our readiness to comply with your Maiestie in all your Princely Designes have accordingly given leave to Our said servant with Artists by him at his great charge procured to repaire into those parts, who according to a Captitulation made by Our said Agent, with your Maiesties Officers is, and wilbe, ready to performe and make good what is or hereafter shalbe agreed or concluded betweene them; Provided they be by your Maiesties Officers furnished with all fitting accomodation for performance of so great a worke. And that whensoever Our said Servant shall signifie to your Maiestie his desire to returne unto us with his Artists, that then your Maiestie will please to give them leave so to do with all fitting meanes for there transportation, into theise Our Dominions, Which princely acte of iustice and favor to Strangers that for your Majesties service have undertaken so long and chargeable a iourney will conduce much to the conservation of that mutuall Amitie, so long and happily continued betweene Our Crownes and Kingdomes. Given in our Imperiall Citie of London and at Our royall Pallace there the fourth day of June Anno Domini 1641.

Charles R.

The letter has been damaged by damp and has a hole at the center on the vertical seam where it was folded. The design is similar to the borders on [28, 35, 37, 38]. At the center top is a shield with the flags of Sts. George and Andrews, the only

¹¹⁴ I.e., the Ambassadorial or Foreign Office.

¹¹⁵ Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State 1640–1641. *ODNB*.

¹¹⁶ Simon Digby served as an Agent in Moscow 1635–c. 1640. Bell, *Handlist*, p. 225; *CSPD* 1635, no. 52, p. 87.

symbols of state on the document. Between the center and the left hand corner are oval and rectangular medallions limned to resemble lapis and carnelian; between the center and right hand corner are onyx and malachite. The left and right sides are similar but not symmetrical. They both contain framed gold scrollwork ovals with a medallion (left, lapis; right, onyx) at the bottom of the border. The initial 'C' with scrollwork in the center, is entirely in gold.

[40] 1 June 1642, F. 35, op. 2, no. 76, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 58 × 71.5 cm.

Charles by the grace of Almightye God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To Our most deare and loving Brother the most high mightie noble Prince the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow, see [1]*] and of many other kingdoms Lord and Conqueror, Greeting.

Most excellent Prince Our most deare Brother and Frend, By your princely letter lately sent unto Us Wee understand that an Agreement hath bene lately made betweene your nearest Nobleman the great lord Kneaz Evan Borresowech Chareasco [Kniaz' Ivan Boris Cherkasskii] in the office of your Imperiall great Treasurer,¹¹⁷ and Our trusty and welbeloved Subiect Spencer Bretton, Merchant, for the transportation of Nine hundred Clothes [i.e., cloths] out of this our Kingdome into Moscovia.¹¹⁸ For the effecting and performance of which Agreement your Maiestie hath been pleased by your said Princely letters to intimate your desire that Wee would grant leave to Our said Subiect to buy and transport the said number of Clothes accordingly. Wee are so sencible of the ancient amitie and mutuall correspondence so long and happily continued betweene Our Crownes and Kingdomes and so desirous to lay hold upon all occasions that may expresse the same that Wee willingly comply with your Maiestie in this your princely desires. And have given leave to Our said subiect Spencer Bretton to transport the said nine hundred Clothes according to his said Agreement and Contract. Furthermore, Wee have thought fitt upon this occasion to intimate to your Imperiall Maiestie That since there is no better

¹¹⁷ See above, n. 106

¹¹⁸ Bretton may have been a privileged member of the Company as early as 1628. Arel, "Muscovy Company," p. 111. He was also free of the Mercers' Company. Appleby, "*Dr. Arthur Dee*," p. 32. By 1646 he may have been an 'agent' or 'consul' for negotiating English affaires in Russia (P. Dukes, Graeme P. Herd, and J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 58) although he is not listed as such in Bell's, *Handlist*, pp. 226–227. See above [44].

means to maintain and preserve the Entercourse and commerce so usefull and beneficiall to Our subiects and kingdomes then by gracious favors and encouragements to those whose comendable industry may promise and produce good effects in that kind. Wee shalbe glad to understand that your Imperiall Maiesty wilbe pleased that Our said welbeloved Subiect Spencer Bretton [in] faithfully performing his agreement with your great Officer may receive your Maiesties gracious and favorable acceptation of the same.

And also that your Maiestie wilbe pleased to grace him with being one of your priviledged Merchants in the place of Beniamin Decrew [Decrow] lately deceased who (as Wee are given to understand) was one of your Maiesties priviledged merchants.¹¹⁹ Desiring that this Our Subiect Spencer Bretton's name may be inserted in his place. And Wee shalbe ready to answer your Imperiall Majesty in all wayes of courtesey and Offices of friendship as often as your Royall Selfe or subjects shall have any occasion to require any testimony thereof from Us. Given at Our Imperiall Citie of Yorke and at Our royall Pallace there the first day of June *Anno Domini* 1642.

Charles R.

Two years later Bretton was to be accused of using 'unmannerly words' and causing dissension. See [44].

The design on this letter is similar to earlier ones with motifs from Perret and Androuet dit du Cerceau but with the inclusion of more arabesque (see [35]). At the center top is a cartouche similar to those on [38, 39]. Between that cartouche and each top corner is a framed medallion: on the left is a golden lion; and on the right a gold fleur-de-lis. Toward the bottom of the left border is a lapis blue cartouche; and on the right is a gold thistle. Between all of the emblems of state are gold, red, and blue scrolls interwoven with blue ribbon. The initial 'C' is blue, wrapped with a gold vine and the remaining decorated letters of the King's name are gold.

[41] 6 June 1642, F. 35, op. 2, no. 77, RGADA. To Tsar Mikhail. Parchment. 58 × 74 cm. Charles by the grace of Allmightie God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To Our most dear and loving Brother, the most high, mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Michael Pheodorowich* of all Russia [*full titles follow see [1]*] and of many other Kingdomes Lord and Conqueror, greeting.

¹¹⁹ Decrow had been privileged in 1636 with Bretton as his factor. Arel, "Muscovy Company," p. 120. See Appleby, "*Dr. Arthur Dee*," p. 36, Decrow's will was drawn in 1626, amended in 1632, and not probated until 1646.

Most excellent Prince, Our most deare Brother and Frend, Wee have receaved your Maiesties Imperiall Letters whereby Wee understand your desire that Wee would license Our trusty and welbeloved subiect Peter Chamberlen,¹²⁰ Doctor of Phisicke, to make his present repaire to Mosco there to serve and attend your Maiestie in place and qualitie of your Phisition, And do withall willingness embrace any occasion that may expresse the royall affection and respect Wee have ever borne to your Imperial Maiestie, Especially in a request of this nature tending to the preservation of your health and by your Maiestie exprest with those gracious offers of favorable reception, employment neare your person, and free dismissal at his pleasure.

Wherefore Wee have given free leave and license to Our said subiect to repaire into those parts, and to attend your Imperial Maiestie accordingly. But being given to understand that one Doctor Elmes [John Elmsen],¹²¹ a Native of Moscovia and your Maiesties subiect, having spent some time in theise Our Dominions, in the study and practise of Phisicke, is lately returned to Moscow, by whose service and attendance it is probable your Maiestie may for the present be sufficiently supplied. Wee have therefore for a time thought fit to retard and respite the sending over of Our said subiect D. Chamberlen unto your Maiestie untill such time as by your second letters Wee shall receive full and absolute determination in that point.¹²² Not doubting, but that as Our said subiect Doctor Chamberlen hath given good prooffe to the world of his Excellency, Learning, and Experience in his profession, besides his other abillities, and industry in the disquisition and search of other learnings and languages which may worthily recommend him to your royall favor, so your Imperiall Maiestie wilbe pleased upon Our recomendation to let him find that reception, entertainment, and accomodation during his stay there, with free leave to deport thence when Our service or his owne occasions may require the same as Wee may with reason expect, or a man of his worth and qualite may deserve.

So Wee wish unto your Imperiall Majesty all happiness and prosperous succeſſe in all your Princely affaires, with a long, healthfull and contented life. Given at Our Imperiall Citie of York and in Our Royall Palace there the sixt day of June *Anno Domini* 1642.

120 The son of Peter Chamberlen, the younger (d. 1626), this Peter (d. 1683) was the first physician to use forceps in English midwifery. See *ODNB*.

121 John Elmsen, the son of the tsar's interpreter [22] & [23], had been accepted at the University of Cambridge, c. 1630–1631, to study physics and science. See above, n. 60.

122 Appleby, "Dr. Arthur Dee," p. 42.

Charles R.

The border decoration in this letter is similar to [41]. At the center top is a cartouche displaying the crimson imperial crown on a ground stippled to look like ermine. On each side of it are red, yellow, blue, and green scrolls in the appearance of stylized dolphins. The remainder of the border is colored decorative scrollwork and arabesque. On the left border there is a framed fleurs-de-lis in gold; on the right is the same with a thistle. The side borders end with three golden chains from which hang pearl-like beads. The initial 'C' is gold with small grotesques within the design.

[42] 7 December 1646, F. 35, op. 2, no. 79, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment. 60.5 × 75 cm.

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, etc.,

To Our most deare and loving Brother the most high mightie and right noble Prince, the great Lord Emperor and great Duke *Alexce Michaellowich* of all Russia [for *full titles follow*, see *Charles II* [1]] and of many other kingdomes Lord and Conqueror, Greeting.

Most excellent Prince Our most deare Brother and Frend, Amongst the things wherein Princes may do good Offices and shew their respects to each other, there is none more acceptable then when they do communicate reciprocally such comodities as they need in which mutuall enterchange of courtesies. Wee have for many yeares past both given and receaved frequent testimonies and doubt not but in all occasions to find from your Imperial Maiestie the like readines to comply with Our desire as Wee have done in all things conducing to the honor or proffit of your royall *Father* or subiects. By reason of the late comotions in Our Kingdome of Ireland and the yet unsetled and discomposed condition of that country, the Natives Our good Subiects have bene so interrupted in their tillage and husbandry, as Wee have cause to feare a want and scarcitie of Corne, if from forraigne parts that want be not supplied. And being given to understand that within the ample Territories and Dominions of your Imperial Maiestie the plentie of all kind of Corne doth exceed expectation. So that without preiudice to the Countrey you may afoord great quantities to be transported to other parts.

Wherefore Wee have by theise Our royall letters thought good to entreat your Imperial Maiestie to permitt and suffer Our trustie and welbeloved servant Luke Nightingale, Esquire, Our Messenger whom Wee have sent expressly to your Maiestie upon this service to provide and buy for Our use



FIGURE 12 Charles I to Tsar Aleksei, 7 December 1646, RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 79.

Three hundred thousand Chetfordes Vollo measure of Wheate and Rye;¹²³ Wee paying for the same the usuall and accustomed prizes and rates for which Corne is sold there. And because Our said Servant finding by reason of his former travells and employments in those parts that the Cloth of this kingdome is a vendible and acceptable Comoditie with the Natives of Yours, Wee are content upon agreement and contract with your Marchants, that hee deliver unto them in payment for the said corne such a valubable quantitie of English Cloth as upon view of the severall patterns by him to be made good, they shall thinke fitt to accept of the charge and prosecution of which important affaire as it wilbe a worke of time. So Our desire is that Our said Servant may by your Imperiall Maiestie be permitted to remain in those parts untill the said service be fully complete and ended. And that, in the meane time, he may find from your Maiesties Officers at the Parts or elsewhere all things [*illegible*] and furtherance for the better dispatch and expedition of his said service with free leave to return whensoever His owne occasions or [*illegible*] commands shall require him thereunto. And for this princely favor which Wee shall highly vaele and esteeme Wee shalbe ever ready to expresse the like willingness [*illegible*] Imperiall Majestie all possible satisfaction in any thing that your royall Self or subjects may require at Our hands. Given at our Imperiall Citie of Yorke and in Our royall Pallace there the seventeenth day of December in the two and twentieth yeare of Our raigne 1646.¹²⁴

Charles R.

Grain had been purchased in Russia earlier; see the letters of the 1630s ([13–17, and [21]).

The borders are decorated with Roman motifs in between arabesques, putti, and animals similar to those on 40 and 41. At the center top border is a suit of Roman armor within a cartouche frame. To its left is a similar cartouche displaying drums and arrows, and next to it a medallion limned as lapis. There is no motif in the corner; on the left border are two framed medallions showing sculptures of roman emperors or senators, the first in deep olive green the second in carnelian. Between the two is a winged cherub. To the top right of center, symmetrical with the left, is a cartouche displaying a helmet and to its right, an onyx oval. On the right border are two medallions, malachite green and lapis, both displaying Roman figures as on the left border. Between the two is a winged cherub.

123 Luke Nightingale was a member of the Company, although there were questions about his allegiances and his “authenticity and credibility.” P. Dukes, G. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 59, 65–67.

124 The day and month of the date appear to have been added after the text, perhaps at the time of the King’s signing of the letter.

The initial 'C' is in blue with a gold vine entwining around it. Tied with a red ribbon to the upper curve of the initial is a crimson crown with a crossed sword and scepter.

[43] 31 March 1647, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 80, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.*

Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

To our deare and Loving Brother, The most high, Mighty, and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperour and great Duke *Alexsia Michaylowich*, by the mercy of God of all Russia [*for full titles, see Charles II [1]*] and of many other Kingdomes Great Lord and Conqueror.

Most Excellent and Most renowned Prince our deare Brother and frind, Whereas Wee have beene informed by Our Merchants who trade betweene Ours and Your Imperiall Maiesties Dominions of a letter Your Imperiall Maiestie was pleased to send by your messenger Gerus Simonove [*Gerasim Semyonovich Dokhturov*]¹²⁵ who by reason of a late unnatural warre hapning in Our Kingdome, and the uncertainty of our residence and absence from our Imperiall Cittie could not without exposing himself to the dangers and hazards which accompanie times of hostilitie get access to us for the delivery of your Maisties much desired letters. Wee neverthesse think fitt to witnesse Ourselves sensible with your Imperiall Maiestie aswell as to condole the death of that most mightie and most renowned Prince Michael Phedorowich Emperor of all Russia of ever glorious memorie, Your Imperial Maiesties Royall Father, As to congratulate your Maiesties prosperous and happie succession by the mercies of God to your said Fathers Imperiall throne. And being now that the great distempers in Our territories are well nigh calmed and drawing to a happie period, Our intentions are by God's permission with all convenience to send over to Your Imperiall Maiestie, a person of honor and qualitie as Our Ambassador to performe all requisit Offices betweene Us and Your Imperial Maiestie [*illegible*] honor the enterteining and continuance of that auncient Amitite and friendship which hath long beene betweene Our Imperiall crownes As also to witnesse the particular honor and esteeme we have of Your Imperiall Maiesties person and eminent Merits. In the meane time for the encouragement and protection [*illegible*] commerce in those remote parts and for their establishment in those ample and ancient Priviledges which Our said Merchants have formerly enjoyed and have been further assured of

125 Dokhturov arrived in London in November 1645 to inform Charles of the death of Tsar Michael. A member of the Duma, he apprenticed "in several chanceries." Crummey, "*Aristocrats and Servitors*," pp. 39–40.

the continuation thereof by Your Maiesties gracious reiterated promises. Wee thought good to [*illegible*] thereof.

Wee also think fitt to minde Your Imperial Maiestie of that which adds to Our wonderment and grief on the behalf of Our said subiects, Namely your Maiesties suddaine alteration of Your royall intentions and expressions by commanding Customes to be paid by them to their [*illegible*] tending to the over throw of so auncient and beneficial a Trade to Both Kingdomes. Which Commands wee are informed were by Onecke Evanove Chistova [Anikei Ivanowich Chistoi] at Archangell in such a violent manor pressed upon Our said Subiects as stand not with the honour of [*illegible*] Prince,¹²⁶ And therefore gives them iust cause to believe that he did farre exceed the Comission graunted by your Imperiall Maiestie. Our Royall and constant desires now being the Continuation of the auncient League and Amitie with you Our deare Brother and Our Imperial crownes [*illegible*] Maiestie. Our loving Subiect Spencer Bretton now Residing at Your Imperiall Court as agent to negotiate the affaires of Our said Merchants will such time as Wee shall see Cause to send an other fitt person to reside there upon Our further command.

We do therefore [*illegible*] Imperiall Maiestie Our Deare Brother to give him not only accesse to Your Imperial hand but also audience and Credit in all things hee shall propound or negotiate with Your Maiestie on our behalf, or for the affaires of Our said Merchants, As well concerning their restoration to their [*illegible*]. As Your Maiesties Royall Confirmation of the same That a good understanding may be inviolably preserved betwixt Ourselves and Our Subiects on either part. And for us, Wee assure Your Imperiall Majestie That upon all occasions Wee shall [*illegible*] all Princelie Offices With You Our deare Brother and gratefully wellcome [*illegible*] who at any time You shall recommend unto Us.

Thus wishing unto Your Imperiall Majestie all prosperitie and glorie in all your undertakings, Wee comit you [*illegible*] Almightye; Given at Our Court at Holdenby, the Last day of March 1647, and in the three and twentieth yeare of our raigne

Charles R.

Charles was imprisoned in Holdenby House at the time this was written. It is unclear who drafted the letter. It is indicative of the growing tensions between Russia and England and the rough treatment of the merchants as a result of the

126 See P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 59. Chistoi was a secretary of the Great Treasury 1645–1648.

decree in 1646 forcing the Company (and other foreigners) to pay full duty.¹²⁷ It is possible that a portrait was included here as it was the first letter from Charles to the new tsar, but all of the borders and the block containing the king's initial have been cut off. What remains of the decoration is a deep blue ground bearing a pattern of tiny red and white dots on which are the gold letters 'Charles By The'. In the text, Charles's title, embellished in gold, is separated from the tsar's titles, also embellished, by gold pen work scrolls.

[44] 1 June 1648, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 81, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.*

Charles by the grace of Allmightie God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To Our most deare and loving Brother, the most high, mightie and right noble Prince the great Lord Emperor and great Duke Alexce Michaelowich of all Russia [for full titles, see *Charles II* [1]] and of many other kingdomes Lord and Conqueror, Greeting.

Most excellent Prince, Our most deare Brother and Frennd, Your Emperour Maiesties Letters with the translations came to our princely hands by our trusty and well beloved servant and messenger Luke Nightingale Esquire by which wee are given to understand how far your Imperiall Maiestie hath been pleased to condescend to our request formerly signified by our said servant that in lew of the hundred thousand Chetfords of bread corne Wheat and Rye desired by us to be transported into these our Dominions your Imperiall Maiestie hath comanded only thirty thousand Chetfords of corne to be brought to Voloday [Vologda] and thence to the Archangell, the late scarcity and condition of those parts of your Maiesties large dominions and provisions for supply of your Army and Townes bordering upon the Crim Tartar, not permitting more ample proportion to be spared as then Your Imperial Maiestiy wishing likewise that all great Christian Princes would rise up against those heathen Pagans, enemyes to the Crosse of Christ and assist one another.

And for the better maintaining of the said army by improvement of your Customes Your Imperiall Order was published in the 154 yeare by your Boyaren the Governor of Archangell, Knase, vrya Petrowich Byynosoro Rostofskie [Knaiz' Uri Petrovich Buinosov-Rostovskii],¹²⁸ to which all did yeild obedience except our subiects Spencer Britton [Bretton] and his companions who did then use unmannerly words and unseemely to make dissention,¹²⁹ and how

127 The Company lost its tax privileges in 1649. See Arel, "Muscovy Company," Chaps. 10 and 11.

128 Prince Buinosov-Rostovskii, Governor of Archangel, 1646–1648.

129 See above, [44] & [45] and n. 118.

that formerly they have combined seacretly with several other strangers contrary to Your Imperial Maiesties strict prohibited Lawes. And of such their false dealings there hath happened dissention and in Your Imperiall Maiesties treasure it hath caused great losse. And to you the great Lord they have shewed no service nor truth, yet for these their offences there hath not been Your Princely displeasure nor any punishment laid upon them for our brotherly love and friendship sake.

Your Imperiall Maiestie expecting hereafter that we will comand our subiects the English all such 'gostes' [gosti],¹³⁰ and merchants that desire to come into Your Imperiall Maiesties Dominons that they live civilly and conformable as others to Your Imperiall Maiesties knowne Lawes and customes, and demeaning themselves accordingly they may come freely. For answer of which your Imperiall and Princely Letters and Prinely favours done to our servant and messenger Luke Nightingale,¹³¹ and great mercie and lenitie to our subiects for our sake not withstanding their high offences contrary to our desire or knowledge.

Wee returne you Our Royall thanks, that in the contemplation of the mutuall amity and ancient correspondency between our crownes and Kingdomes, have condescended so farr to comply with our desires in graunting that proportion of corne. The relation whereof was very acceptable to Us, Yet withall wishing that the corne may rather be spared from Novogrod [Novgorod] and Plesco [Pskov] and parts adiacent neere the river leading to the Narve [Narva] and Rygae [Riga] in Leifland where corne is more plentifull and larger measure then about Voloday [Vologda], besides the easines and conveniency of transportation and exportation and the people of those parts more willing then others to part with corne for Our cloth, Tynn, Pewter and other valuable commodities of these Our Dominions as we are credibly given to understand.

Wherefore We have thought fit once more to reiterate our former request that leave may be graunted to Our said servants Luke Nightingale Esq., John Richardson, Edward Ropur, and John Cannen [Canon],¹³² Our merchants their substitutes and Factors to buy and transporte for our use and service the afore-said proportion of Three hundred Thousand Chetfords of bread corne Wheate and Rye according to our first desire with the largest measure, and that our said servant and Merchants whom we have expresly sent and employed upon this important occasion may by your Maiesties Imperiall command finde all favorable assistance and protection from your Officers and Ministers whom it may concern for the better accomplishment of this Our desire. To which

130 I.e., privileged merchants.

131 See above, n. 123.

132 P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 66.

purpose Wee have given ample instructions and directions to our said servants and Merchants, them or either of them, and have appointed Jewells, Stuffs, Tynn, Pewter, and other valuable commotities, usefull and serviceable for your Imperiall Treasury and advantagious to your Subjects in exchange for the aforesaid proportion of corn as [*illegible*]. This Princely Act of Royall courtesie from your Imperiall Majestie will be most acceptable unto Us. And we shall be ready to expresse the like willingness to give your Roayll Majestie all [*illegible*] things contained in your Princely lines written to Us the third of July last, Or Otherwise that your Royall self or subjects may have occasion to require at Our hand Given [*Illegible*] [Isle] of Weight [Wight] the first day of June in the foure and twentieth yeare of our reign, *Anno. Doni.* 1648.¹³³

Charles R.¹³⁴

This was an arrangement similar to that made in 1631. (See [21].)

The borders are limned with polychromatic scrollwork and ribbons, including many grotesques and some flowers. At the center top is a gold fleurs-de-lis on blue in a cartouche frame, surrounded by fish or dragon heads emerging out of the scrollwork. At the corners, on a diagonal, are two heart shaped cartouches, on the right a crimson crown on a white ground, on the left a golden standing lion on crimson. Half way down the side borders are on the left a cartouche with a golden harp on blue; on the right a gold thistle also on blue. The large initial 'C' is deep blue with gold vines and floral work. At the top is a red ribbon from which is hanging a crimson and gold crown with a crossed sword and scepter; the background is stippled to resemble ermine. Above the decorated golden letters "harles" but inside the border is a line of gold, red, and blue scrollwork.

• • •

Letter [82] which follows is undecorated and addressed "To the right High Mighty and Right Noble Prince Alexea Micaellowitch" with his full titles, from "Charles Prince of great Brettaine, Duke of Cornewall, Albany and Rothsey, etc." It explains that "the King our Royall Father would long since have sent an Ambassadour expressly to your Maiestie had not the destractions of all his Maiesties Dominions hindered the performance of that office," and was "Dated at Our Court in the Haghe the xvi December in the yeare of Our Lord Saviour MDCxlviii" and signed "Charles P"; i.e., "Charles Princeps."

133 Charles I was imprisoned in Carisbrooke castle on the Isle of Wight in June 1648. It is not clear who drafted this text and whether the King ever saw it. The limning appears to be Norgate's work.

134 Possibly stamped or signed by the Secretary of State.

Commonwealth and Protectorate



The Interregnum

The State continued in altered form after the execution of Charles I in 1649 marked the end of English monarchy. The images and constructs of the period, however, in the absence of the king and court, are outside of the purview of a book on royal letters. We need only remark that government letters during the Commonwealth and Protectorate were without decoration, not because Norgate was dead, but because a conscious choice was made by the ruling body for a less imperial style and a simpler aesthetic. ‘Republican’ had replaced ‘royal.’ We know, however, that during the Commonwealth limners still worked. A limed credential letter from the period that introduced Bulstrode Whitelocke as ambassador to Queen Christina of Sweden in 1653 is in the Riksarkiv in Stockholm, highly decorated with gold scrollwork and embellishment.¹ Domestic land recoveries and patents were also decorated in the 1650s even through the few months of Richard’s protectorate.

In 1656 William Prideaux was sent as a special ambassador to Russia and granted an audience with the tsar on 16 February 1656.² A letter from the Commonwealth was probably prepared for him to deliver but was either never received by the tsar or not kept because it had been sent from the English parliament responsible for regicide.

There is one extant letter in the collection in the Russian archives from Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, to the tsar, dated 10 April 1657.³ It announced a special embassy to Russia by Richard Bradshaw, the then English agent in Hamburg, in April 1657. Undecorated and written in Latin, a break with Stuart custom, the letter declared that the man being sent was “adorned by the greatest faith, integrity, and prudence” and also pointed out that he was known to

1 21 October 1653. England 1, C. Swedish National Archives (Diplmatica), Stockholm. *Engelska parlamentets fullmakt for Whitelocke* (The English Parliament’s letter of authority for Whitelocke), parchment. Latin. Limed in the autumn of 1653, it is likely that the decoration was paid for by Whitelocke himself out of the 6,000 li. allotted to him monthly for the embassy. Longleat House Archives, Notebook 1653–1654, vol. 14, f. 28 (Reel 8 of Harvester Press microfilm series).

2 Bell, *Handlist*, p. 225.

3 RGADA, F. 35, op. 2, no. 87. The letter was from “*Oliarius Protector Republ. Angliae Scotiae et Hiberniae, etc.*” and was addressed to “*Celsissimo Potentissimo Serenissimoque Principi Magno Domino Imperatori Magnoque Duci Alexio Mychaylowich dei gratia totius Russiae soli domino Voldomeri . . .*”

the Russians from other embassies. Bradshaw's embassy was a response to the Muscovy Company's petition to Cromwell requesting that 'some fit person' be sent to restore the merchants' privileges and trade lost when the English were exiled at the time of the execution of the king, but the endeavor failed. Bradshaw reached Courland but at the border was refused entrance into Russia.⁴

After the King's death four letters were sent to the tsar from Charles the son, proclaimed King Charles II, 17 February 1649 on the Isle of Jersey (see below). His letter of 16 February 1649, beautifully decorated and sent from France, is described below (Charles II [1]). Those of June 1655 and April 1656 are not decorated and consequently not included here.⁵

Oliver Cromwell died on 3 September 1659. He was succeeded for eight months by his son, Richard who, on taking office, was heavily encumbered by debt, both personal and state. More importantly, there were those in Parliament and the Privy Council who doubted his competence to rule.⁶ Eight months later Richard retired to France and the Interregnum was over. England restored the monarchy but the privileges of the Muscovy Company lost over the issue of regicide were gone forever. The Dutch assumed their place in the Russian trade and prospered in Russian markets, adding to England's ever growing tensions with Holland.

4 Bell, *Handlist*, p. 226.

5 RGADA, F. 35, op. 2, nos. 84, 85, 86.

6 Nenner, *Right to be King*, p. 82.

Later Stuarts



Charles II

The Restoration

At the time of the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 eleven years had passed since the death of Charles I. During that short period the world had unalterably changed. New social customs had emerged, English ‘gentlemen of quality’ were becoming merchant adventurers, commercial interests were turning westward to the Carolinas; fascination with science was beginning to crystallize all over Europe and inspire the founding of academies and societies for the study of biology and medicine. The works of mathematicians, philosophers and political theorists were read and discussed in clubs and coffee houses. ‘Monarchy,’ ‘Republicanism,’ and ‘Sovereignty’ were terms debated endlessly in public halls and at private dinners. New perceptions in almost every sphere of life were prefiguring the enlightenment of the eighteenth century. The execution of the king had opened Pandora’s box by linking radical thought and parliamentary action. The idea that monarchy was in some definable way responsible to its subjects altered the balance between ruler and ruled, representative assemblies and crowned heads, churches and states. The old maxim that the king could do no wrong was evolving into a doctrine of ministerial responsibility.¹ The possibility that hereditary kings and their royal courts could be expendable had been proven a reality by the experiences of the English civil wars and Commonwealth. And those experiences were not lost on the rest of Europe.

More important to Charles II than the artistic decorations on his letters were the words of his title, as he wrote to Tsar Aleksei describing “the right of succession derived unto Us from as many famous and renowned Ancestors.” (See below [1].)² As eldest son and heir he never questioned that the crown was rightfully his, and for him it was more than sufficient that his image in the world was ‘Charles II, King of England.’ No further embellishment, visual or verbal was necessary. The succession theme is apparent in several of Charles’s letters to Russia. During the course of his reign he sympathized over the death of Aleksei Mikhailovich and welcomed Tsar Fyodor to the throne in 1676 ([18 & 19]). Six years later, in 1682, he acknowledged the death of Fyodor and congratulated Ivan V and Peter I on their joint succession ([25]).

¹ Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, II, 453.

² The subsequent numbers in square brackets are to the letters of Charles II printed below.

There, is, however, also a radical change in the artistic design of Charles II's royal letters that is unrelated to succession but rather concerns new interests of the merchant trading companies. Norgate's finely limned letters with Italian motifs interwoven with intricate scroll work were meant, as we have said, to impress those Eastern rulers who had privileges to bestow on English trading companies. In the extant letters of Charles II to the tsar (I have found no decorated letters to other foreign rulers) creative ingenuity is absent from the design. We see only repetitive stamps of crowned coats of arms and heraldic shields printed on a rolling press from engraving plates then encircled with gold scrollwork, sometimes gilded. No longer particularly designed to catch the tsar's eye and ultimately to net monetary privileges, it was cheaper and easier to have the letters printed than limned "at ten times the price," as stated in George Tomlin's patent.³ The choice was certainly not because of a dearth of artists in London. With the return of the court the art world of the City flourished and the King immediately on his restoration appointed Samuel Cooper limner, and after Cooper's death in 1673 named Nicholas Dixon for the position.⁴ It was simply that royal coats of arms could be printed from plates at far less expense than employing a limner.

For the twenty-five years of Charles II's reign there are extant twenty-five letters to Russia, but they were sent more regularly during the first part of the reign, one fifth in 1663 alone. In the last five years fewer were sent, none after 1682. The decline in the letters reflects the decline in the Muscovy Company's business and their diminishing influence at court. Without privileges they could not profit and without profit the king was not interested in maintaining the relationship. In 1673 Charles refused to aid the tsar when the Ottomans invaded Poland, noting that the distance was too great for a land army and more ships at sea would have little influence on the Turks in Poland (below [17]). But these excuses were, in fact, the king's response to the tsar's support of Dutch commerce.⁵ Charles's penultimate letter to the tsar, 12 April 1682 ([25]) was highly critical of the Russian's broken promise to return the privileges when the wars between the Pole and the Tatars were over. After this, Charles lost interest in pressing the issue. Colonies in the Carolinas were already producing rice and the lucrative trade of the Levant Company and commerce in far flung ports managed by the East India Company were of greater value to

3 See above, Chapter 4.

4 Edmond, "Nicholas Dixon, limner: and Matthew Dixon, painter died 1710," p. 611.

5 At this time, 1660–1675, the Dutch state (*De Staten Generael der Vereenigh de Nederlanden*) occasionally sent letters decorated on four sides with symbols of state in the top border to the tsar(s). RGADA Op. 550, Netherland.

the Crown. Aside from the two letters sent from James II (see below) there were no further decorated letters sent to Russia from England in the seventeenth century.

In representing himself to other rulers Charles II was concerned primarily with advertising his own legitimacy and lawful inheritance. His involvement with continental politics, his increasing interest in colonial affairs and new world commerce, as well as the ports of Bombay and Tangier brought with his marriage to Catherine of Braganza, detracted from any focus on the north. Moreover, it is clear that by the 1660s (if not earlier) England had simply lost to the Dutch in the Russian trade.⁶ As a last hope for the Muscovy Company, by proclamation in 1675 Charles had prohibited the importation of cordage ('bale yarn' for ships' rigging) from any country but Russia.⁷ It failed, however, to save the trade. There were other factors, too, regarding the demise of the Company. The East India and Levant Companies had curried favor with Charles, proffering gifts of silver to him at the time of the Restoration. In addition, these Companies actively worked to find places for their agents at court while at the same time wooing courtiers to become their agents.⁸ As a result of courting the court, so to speak, the East India Company in 1661 regained its sole rights in the Far East and the Levant Company received a new charter the same year. After their loss of privileges in Russia, with the subsequent resulting financial loss the Muscovy Company, however, had neither the means nor the personnel to ingratiate themselves at court.

Anglo-Russian relations during the whole period of the Restoration were fraught with the ongoing issues of privileges, trade, and royal support. At the time of the execution of Charles I Tsar Aleksei had supported Charles's son not only by way of recognizing the hereditary succession but also practically with a loan of money ([1]). Moreover, showing even greater support for the English monarchy, in retribution for regicide the tsar had expelled all English merchants, bringing a certain irony to the fact that during the period of the Restoration tensions between the countries exploded over the issue of the expulsion of the merchants and the resultant lost privileges. In 1660 Charles II was in the position of trying to reclaim for England what Russia had denied in deference to monarchy, and ultimately to himself. The loss of trading privileges in the north, as mentioned above, however, also coincided with a general shift in English commercial interests—a shift that led to the demise

6 See J.W. Veluwenkamp, "Murman Coast," pp. 261–263.

7 *CSPD* 1673–1675, p. 599.

8 Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access*, pp. 126–127.

of the Muscovy Company and in turn marked the end of the decorated English letters to the tsar.

It should be noted too that, aside from other considerations, Charles II never had his father's love of art or any interest in the design of the letters. For one thing his early and middle years were not spent at court in the luxury of the art world, dancing in court masques, and playing in theatricals but rather in fighting for the monarchy first of his father and then of himself. Secondly, his later years were consumed with the practicalities of rebuilding a monarchical state in a world very different from that in which he had grown up.

Experiences rather than books and theories shaped the man who from birth was taught to embrace the obligations of his inheritance. His image of himself and the English Crown evolved through those experiences. Charles's youth was remarkable for a seventeenth-century king and very different from that of both his Stuart father and grandfather. Neither James I nor Charles I as young men had lived outside of the royal household as had the future Charles II in England and Scotland in 1650 and 1651, and later in Europe where he spent years in exile sometimes anchored to his mother's court at Saint-Germain-en Laye, near Versailles, but often on his own in Jersey, Cologne, or the Hague, dependent on the largess of relatives and friends.

Prince Charles, eighteen when his father was executed in January 1649 was, in less than a week, proclaimed king by the Scottish parliament in Edinburgh, although the royalists refused to admit the legitimacy of that Parliament.⁹ Shortly thereafter, on 17 February he was proclaimed King of England, etc., on the Isle of Jersey. With one heart and a single public voice the Lieutenant Governor and Bailly, George de Carteret, Knight and Baronet, and various other officers of the Island proclaimed

*que Son Altesse le Très-Haut et Tres Puissant Prince Charles est maintenant, par la mort de notre dit feu Souverain de glorieuse mémoire, devenu, par droit de légitime succession, et ligne héréditaire, notre seul et légitime Souverain Seigneur, Charles the Second, par le grâce de Dieu, Roi d'Angleterre, Ecosse, France et Irlande; Défenseur de la Foi, etc.*¹⁰

... devoir toute obéissance et fidélité, honneur et service, et prisons Dieu, par lequel les Rois rènent, d'establi et d'affermir le Roi Charles Second, dans tous ses justes droits, et sur son trône et le faire régner long-tems et heureusement sur nous.

9 ODNB.

10 The proclamation is printed in various places. See, for example, Hoskins, *Charles the Second in the Channel Islands*, 11, 405.

By the parliamentary Act Abolishing the Office of King (17 March 1649) and the Act Appointing the Council of State (16 February 1650) this proclamation, however, was rendered null and void by the Commonwealth government.¹¹ Nevertheless to royalists (and Russians) who did not recognize that government, it was a valid and authoritative instrument that provided legitimacy for Charles's title. Following successive readings of the Proclamation, the Jersey Estates were assembled and the Oath of Religion and Supremacy administered to them.

Accompanying the proclamation from Jersey was the Island's creation of a Great Seal depicting the new king on one side and St. George on the other. The proclamation was critical to Charles in providing the authority and legitimacy of office. Striking the Great Seal advertised to the wider world that practically speaking he was embarking on the beginnings of a government in exile, regardless of how rudimentary they were. Together these instruments provided him with the vehicle for proclaiming full titles and assuming royal powers under the Great Seal to send ambassadors as representatives of himself, to draft royal commissions, and to correspond with foreign rulers as king of England. Inherent in the title was also the customary usage and tradition of the king to employ the vocabulary of familial relationships with other Christian kings and emperors. In his missives to his cousin Louis, Charles always addressed him as 'my dear brother,' so, too, did he address Tsar Aleksei.

Charles's first handsomely limned letter to the tsar was written on 16 September in 1649 from his mother's "Royal court being at present in the Strong Castle of St. Germans" ([1]). The three borders, that is the same configuration as used by his father, are entirely floral without any symbols of monarchy or state. It would be nice to know if there had been a royal coat of arms or other symbol in the initial 'C' on the first line of the title but unfortunately that 'C' was cut out of the vellum perhaps centuries ago. The letter announced itself as from "Charles the Second of that name, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland" and was addressed "To Our Deare Brother Alexi Michaelowich." In the text Charles spoke of "those monsters of mankind" who endeavored "to exclude us from the right of succession derived unto us." He then introduced his emissary, John Lord Colepeper, Baron and Peer of England. Charles subsequently turned to finance and requested a loan of 50,000 li., repayment of which Colepeper was authorized to guarantee by "two commissions under Our Great Seal of England," i.e., that seal struck on the Isle of Jersey. The closing of the letter was dated as "in the year of our Lord God [1649] and the first of our reign."

11 *CSPD 1649–1650*, pp. 512–513.

The Russians had provided Charles with a “loan,” paid in grain and furs.¹² Money, however, was the acute and ongoing problem for the king in exile. During the summer following Charles I’s execution sympathies for the English ruler ran high in Europe but little or no financial support was forthcoming for Charles II outside of the loan from the Russians and a few other small gifts of cash and hospitality. Aside from those letters to the tsar and the many to Louis XIV in France, and the Prince and Princess of Orange, Charles wrote to counts and countesses throughout Europe. The letters (undecorated) reveal little about his plans for structuring a state or reshaping the monarchy; primarily they reiterate his claim of rightful inheritance while pressing practical matters for an invasion of England— money, militias and navies.¹³

By 1650, believing his return to England might be possible through Scotland, albeit the complexities of the Presbyterians and Church of England remained unresolved, Charles prepared to meet a Scottish delegation invited by William II of Orange (his sister Mary’s husband) to Breda in Holland. Earlier, in April that year, Charles had written to William of uniting “the hearts and affections of all my good subjects of Scotland to me.”¹⁴

It was following these meetings that now as a twenty-one year old, he crossed the channel to Scotland in May 1650 where he was officially crowned “Charles the Second, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland” at Scone on the first day of the new year 1651.¹⁵ There he promised that he and his successors would “conform to the National Covenant” and work to “extirpate poperie, prelatie, superstition, heresie, schisim, and prophaneness and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine.” His submission to the Covenant was confirmed in the oath following the coronation sermon.

Ultimately a betrayal of the royalist cause, by agreeing to take the oath and swearing to the Covenant, Charles had bought his safe return. As winter turned to spring, however, the mind of the newly crowned king was less on Scotland than England and with a small troop of 16,000 men and the loyal support of the duke of Hamilton he moved southward. Defeated at Worcester, however,

12 See below, nn. 31 and 38. Colepeper had requested a loan of one hundred thousand rubles and received only twenty thousand, paid in grains and fur. P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 90–91.

13 Many of Charles II’s letters while he was in exile are in the *Calendars of State Papers* for the Interregnum and later. Others are included in various collections as *The Letters Speeches and Declarations of King Charles II*, ed. Bryant, and Hoskins, *Charles the Second in the Channel Islands*.

14 *The Letters Speeches and Declarations of King Charles II*, ed. Bryant, p. 15.

15 For a description of the ceremony, see *Somers Tracts*, IV, 117–119.

he again became an exile. The years until the Restoration were again taken up with the mechanics of alliance building and the unrewarding search for support through royalist networks at home and communities of cavaliers living abroad. His life hinged on the relationships and alliances made with the primary European powers—France, Spain, Holland, and to a lesser degree Portugal. They were difficult times. The historian Ronald Hutton describes them as years of penury, anxiety, and ever increasing debt.¹⁶ The earl of Clarendon later wrote that in the first months after Charles's stay in Cologne in 1655 the princes of Europe "seemed to contend among themselves who should most eminently forget and neglect him."¹⁷

Those princes and crowned heads, however, were only too happy in 1660 to welcome the restored king. Russia sent Prozorovsky to England in 1662 with congratulations for the monarchy. Now, however, the shoe was on the other foot and Prozorovsky arrived with two requests. The first for repayment of the rubles and corn sent to Charles as a loan; the second a request for monies for supplies to fight the Poles. As the historian, Konovalov tells us, the loan would have been of great value as "the Tsar's Treasury was empty."¹⁸ Nevertheless, however, no plan was forthcoming to restore the Company's privileges. Prozorovsky's embassy was followed immediately by the earl of Carlisle's mission to the tsar ([6]) that resulted in great complaints by the Russians ([8]). The next year Vasilii Dashkov and Dimitri Shipulin in London again made the same pleas for money, but again with no deference to the privileges.¹⁹ Charles replied to their request noting that as "differences which are fallen out between Us and the States Generall of the United Provinces of the Netherlands" have grown, there is no money to spare. Even with England's concern for the navy, however, the continuing desire to purchase naval stores from Russia could not be parlayed into a new deal for the Muscovy Company.

The English merchants remaining in Russia were demoralized and unruly, at one point resulting in the murder of a Russian, which made matters worse. The embassies of Sir John Hebdon in 1667 and his son, John, in 1677, rallied little support for the Company.

In the meantime, the most transcendent and pressing issue for the monarchy of Charles II and, indeed, for all of Great Britain, was not the problem of the Muscovy Company, rebuilding of London after the fire or the ever-present tensions regarding foreign policy, but was that of succession. Following the

16 Hutton, *Charles II*, pp. 89–91.

17 Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, Bk. xv, 1.

18 Konovalov, "England and Russia: Three Embassies," p. 63.

19 Ibid., pp. 76–77.

discovery of the Popish Plot, parliament drafted an Exclusion Bill in 1680 that would disable James from inheriting “the Crown of England and Ireland and the Dominions and territories there belonging.” Parliamentarians, however, fearing the bill would strike a blow against monarchy itself prevented its passage. In defeating it they confirmed the crown as hereditary and not elective. Thus on Charles’s death, three years after the Exclusion Bill had been proposed, James Duke of York succeeded to the throne as James II.

Foreign Affairs

From 1660 the decorated royal letters, as in earlier reigns, were drafted by the secretaries for foreign affairs for presentation to the king for emendation, and then were resubmitted in final draft for signatures.

Charles took an active part in formulating foreign policy.²⁰ His wars and alliances reflected his personal interests in the world with which he was familiar. He kept resident ambassadors (for set spans of years) in Denmark, The German States (Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg), Italy (Florence), Portugal, Spain, The Netherlands (Flanders), and Turkey.²¹ Often, however, as in the past, the maintenance of the resident was at a cost to a trading Company.²² That arrangement would change in the course of his reign.

Leaning always toward a pro-French policy (although he kept no resident in France he collected a pension from the French king)²³ he is said to have had “a visceral distaste for the Dutch Republic,”²⁴ and commented in his letter to Tsar Aleksei on “the sovereignty of Princes which that commonwealth is but too apt to violate” ([10]). During his reign, although policy making was in the hands of the Crown, the administrative details and general correspondence regarding foreign powers were increasingly handled by the secretaries of state for the areas in question.

Sir Charles Cotterell was the Master of Ceremonies for ambassadorial occasions and Peter de Moulin was appointed assistant to that office in 1667.²⁵ By 1668 the king had established within the Privy Council a standing committee of

20 ODNB.

21 See Bell, *Handlist*.

22 See *CSPD 1660–1661*, p. 204, a complaint of the Levant Company for the 10,000 li. per annum cost for keeping the ambassador in Turkey. Of course, it was in their interest to do so.

23 Ogg, *Charles II*, I, 655.

24 ODNB.

25 *CSPD 1667–1668*, p. 155.

foreign affairs which he attended regularly. In 1679, when its name changed to a committee of intelligence, it was generally recognized as “an informal gathering of the King’s friends rather than a Council committee,” always including, however, at least one secretary of state.²⁶ Sir Joseph Williamson (ktd. 1672), whose name appears on three letters to the Tsar ([18–20]) was the clerk of the committee of intelligence.

At the outset William Morrice was secretary of state for the northern countries (including, of course Russia) until he was replaced in 1668 by Sir John Trevor. Sir Edward Nicholas held the office for other countries until 1662 when he was replaced by Sir Henry Bennet (created Lord Arlington the following year). His department had jurisdiction over Spain, Flanders, the Italian States and Savoy, Turkey, Barbary and the Indies. However, as the departments evolved and administrative patterns altered so, too, the jurisdiction of these departments changed. In 1662, for example, Portugal and France were passed to the southern section. The foreign Entry Books for 1660–1688 are more numerous than for earlier periods.²⁷ The details of preparing official correspondence in 1684 can be found in a manuscript in All Souls College but, unfortunately, there is no mention made of limners or printers. The royal decorated letters, as we have said, were prepared for signature by the flourisher and embellisher.

Charles II sent twenty-five letters to Russia, one before the Restoration ([1]) and the rest after 1661. Unfortunately the first one sent after his coronation ([2]) is defaced and consequently we have no idea what portrait may have been on that letter, or what the style was for his initial. Some of the letters are quite long, which simply may reflect the verbosity of the secretary of state; see letter [17], for example.

The Restoration letters, as we have said before, are repetitive in design, printed with a rolling press on vellum from engraved plates, the badges and coats of arms later colored. Nevertheless, some of them are striking because of their size and the gold leaf on the borders. There are two ([23 and 24]) of particular interest that apparently were prepared by, or under the direction of Gideon Royer. On these we can see sprays of tulips and other flowers that were added, but by whom remains a question.

Aside from the statements of succession and the issue over the reinstatement of privileges, Charles II’s letters also requested travel licenses, announced English envoys and ambassadors to Russia ([6, 7, 13, 15, 19]), and acknowledged Russian ambassadors to England ([3, 8, 17]).

²⁶ Evans, *Principal Secretary*, p. 235.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Appendix v, pp. 370–374.

Letters (Charles II)

Printed below are the extant royal decorated letters sent from King Charles II to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich Romanov (reigned 12 July 1645–29 January 1676); Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich Romanov (reigned 29 January 1676–7 May 1682); and Co-Tsars Ivan Alekseyevich Romanov (reigned 7 May 1682–8 February 1696) and Peter Alekseyevich Romanov (reigned 7 May 1682–2 November 1725).

For the editorial conventions used in transcribing the letters, see above, p. 4. The references in square brackets below are to the letters of Charles II included in this chapter, unless otherwise designated.

The full titles for Aleksei are in letter [1], for Fyodor in [18] and for Tsars Ivan and Peter in letter [25].

[1] 16 September 1649, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 83, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.*

Charles the Second of that name, by the Grace of God: King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our Deare Brother, The most High most Potent and most Illustrious Prince, the great Lord Emperour and Great Duke *Alexy Michaylowits* Sole heir and Commander of all Russia, Vladimera, Moscovia, Novogorod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, King of Siberia, Lord of Prescoria and Lord and great Duke of Smolenskey, Trverskey, Ingorskey, Permeskey, Wyatskey, Bolgerskey, and divers other countreys, Also Lord and Great Duke of Novogoroda, of the Northerne Countreys, Cheringo, Rosanskey, Polorskey, Rastovfskey, Iaroslafsky, Belaserfsky, Leiftlandsky, Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky and Commander of all the Northerne Countreys. Also Lord of the Countrey of Tversky, Cartalinsky, and Grevsinsky, Kabardinsky, Charkaskey and of the Dukedome of gorsky and of many other Kingdomes Lord and Conquerour,

Most Excellent and Renowned Prince, Although the unnaturall rebellion rayzed by Our Subjects of England against the King Our late Royall Father of ever blessed memory, and the sad effects thereof in the execrable and unparallel'd murder committed upon his sacred person by those Monsters of mankind together with their impious endeavours not only to exclude Us from the right of succession derived unto Us from so many famous and renowned Ancestors, but also to overthrow Monarchy it self and all Regall power: be sufficiently knowne in all places and hath already fill'd the whole Christian World with horror and astonishment: yet We would not be wanting to signify the same in a particular manner and with the most honorable circumstances We could unto Your Imperiall Majesty.

We have therefore now sent unto You in quality of Our Extraordinary Embassadour, Our right trusty and welbeloved Counsellour John Lord Culpeper

[Colepeper], Baron and Peere of Our Kingdom of England: and an auncient faithfull Councillour of State to the King Our late Royall Father: being a person fully instructed in all Our affaires and one who by his great Wisdome, Fidelity, and long Service, hath merited a most entire and most intimate confidence with Us entreating Your Imperiall Majestie to give ready accesse, favourable hearing and full credit to him in all things he shall propound or negotiate in Our behalf, either concerning Our Self or concerning the goods, trade, and commerce of all Our Subjects within Your Majesty's large and fruitfull Dominions and Empire whilst he shall make his Residence in Your Glorious Court as Our Extraordinary Embassadour.²⁸

And to be informed by him of all the horrid circumstances of the impious murder of the King Our Royall Father and of the continuance of the barbarous rebellion against Us in England by Our Subjects of that Kingdome, who likewise endeavor to disturbe Us in the possession of Our Kingdome of Ireland; and to hinder the full obedience and submission to Us of Our Subjects of Scotland who have already Solemnely proclaimed Us their lawfull King and Sovereigne not doubting but that Your Imperiall Majestie in Your great Wisdome will clearly discern how much it concerns all Sovereign Princes to provide for the safety of their own Persons and for the peace and security of their Estates by endeavouring to punish and revenge examples of such dangerous and pernicious consequence.

And that aswell in consideration of the auncient Amity and Alliance that hath been betweene Your Glorious Predecessours and Our Royall Ancestours (which We will endeavour to maintaine and improve by all meanes in Our power) As the common interest and concernment of all Princes, Your Imperiall Majesty will be pleased to manifest that sense of Our condition and inclination to assist Us (which other Kings and Princes of Christendome have already in a high manner expressed), and will take such generous resolutions thereupon as become so Great, so Absolute, and so Powerful a Prince. And as may best expresse Your Brotherly Kindnesse and affection to Us.

We shall therefore in this great exigence of Our affaires most earnestly intreate Your Imperiall Majestie to supply Us with the present loane of fifty thousand pounds Sterling and to cause the same to be delivered to Our Use, to Our said Extraordinary Embassadour who hath order to convey it unto Us as a pledge of Your Royall love and an effectuall means to engage Us in all the bonds of eternall gratitude and Amity. And for the due repayment thereof We

28 John Colepeper of Wigsell, Sussex, was appointed a privy councilor in 1642, served as chancellor of the exchequer in 1642–1643, and master of the rolls in 1643. He was created Baron Colepeper in 1644. *ODNB*.

have authorized Our Said Embassadour by two Commissions under Our great Seale of England to oblige Us in such manner as in the said Commissions is expressed. And which, We have commanded Our said Embassadour to propose more particularly unto You.

And thus wishing You, Our deare Brother, prosperity and glory in all Your great designes We leave Your Imperiall Majesty to the protection of Almighty God. Given at Our Royall Court, being at present in the Strong Castle of S. Germain; the xvith day of September in the Yeare of Our Lord God M.DC.xlix and the first of Our Reigne.²⁹

Charles R.

Rob. Long Secretary³⁰

Charles was writing as the heir of the Stuart line. By virtue of having been proclaimed King on the Isle of Jersey and in Edinburgh he claimed authority to send an ambassador to a foreign state. John Lord Colepeper, Baron of Thoresway (1644), a member of the 'Louvre' group that included Henrietta Maria, was dispatched to negotiate privileges with the Russians regarding the "goods, trade, and commerce of all Our Subjects". He arrived in Moscow in 1650, the year after English merchants had been exiled by the tsar. He requested a loan from the Russians authorized by two commissions under the Great Seal, presumably that Seal struck on the Isle of Jersey (see p. 204). The Russians celebrated Colepeper's visit with a great feast in Moscow and presented him with a loan of 20,000 rubles and corn and furs.³¹ This act of kindness would not be forgotten by Charles II. (See particularly letters [4] and [6].

The top left corner of the letter has been excised. What remains of the decoration are the top right and side borders, perfectly limned in an intricate and multicolored floral and scroll pattern. The side borders are not symmetrical and probably limned over a sketch of the general design; they end on each side with five gold tassels. The only remaining gold on the document is on the letters of the title, "Charles the Second of that Name, By the Grace of God." There are no extant emblems of state, although we have no idea what was cut from the document.

29 Charles was proclaimed King in Jersey in February 1649. He would not be crowned at Sterling Castle in Scotland until New Year's Day 1651, when he was crowned "King of Great Britain," and ascribed to the covenants of the Scottish Kirk. For the text of the coronation ceremony, see *Somers Tracts*, IV, 117–119. In this letter he is claiming the title King by hereditary succession alone.

30 Robert Long had served as private secretary to Charles when he was Prince of Wales (1638). On the death of his father the young Charles, then in Holland, appointed Long secretary of the Privy Council. Hutton, *Charles the Second*, p. 34; *ODNB*.

31 For his loyalty to Charles I, after the Restoration Colepeper was awarded a tract of land in Virginia. *The Letters of Cheney Culpeper (1641–1657)*, p. 122.

[2] 10 May 1661, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 89, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.*

Charles the Second by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our Deare Brother the most High most Potent and most Illustrious Prince the Great Lord Emperor and Great Duke Alexei Michaelowich of all the Greater, Lesser and White Russes and Selfupholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see [1]*] [We] Sendeth Greeting and wisheth all Glory and happiness,

Most Excellent and Renowned Prince, Whereas one of Our Subiects, Collonell John Gibson, together with his wyfe, perswaded Frances Rose, relict of John Rose, gentleman, some tyme an Officer of Honorable Employment In the Army of Our late *Father* of blessed memory to let goe with them for your *Maiesties* Dominions her daughter Frances Rose,³² ingadged by their promise for her returne to her mother after a small time of abode with them. And since the said Collonell Gibson and his wife being deceased, Our Subiect the daughter of the said Frances Rose, being left destitute of freinds it hath bin humbly represented unto Us that Our native Subiect Frances Rose who at present is an inhabitant in your *Imperiall Maiesties* Dominions hath a desire after many yeares absence in those parts to returne into Our Kingdome of *England* to visit her mother and other her relations. *Wee* have thought good at the instant suit of her said mother, A disconsolate widdow earnest to recomend that her humble request to your *Imperiall Maiesties* favor, not doubting of your *Imperiall Maiesties* indulgency to an inclination soe naturall in that Our Subiect whose freedome as wee now mediate for with your *Imperiall Maiestie*, So shall *Wee* endeavor to preserve it entire to her in all things, especially in that of her religion which she now professeth. And your *Imperiall Maiesties* assenting to this *Wee* shall take it as a perticuler effect upon your *Imperiall Maiesties* freindship, And shall be ready upon all occasions to acknowledge the same. And thus wishing you *Our Deare Brother* health and prosperity in all your glorious designes *We* leave you to the protection of *Almighty God*. Given at Our Court att *Whitehall* the tenth day of May in the thirteenth yeare of Our *Reigne* One thousand Six hundred sixty and One.

Your most affectionate brother, Charles R.

Charles's coronation had taken place on St. George's day, 23 April 1661. This is the first extant letter to the tsar that Charles sent as crowned king. It may have had a portrait introducing the new king, but all of the borders were cut off, leaving only the remnants of the lines ruling off the text from the ornamentation on the

32 See Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, p. 43, where she is identified as having "embraced Orthodoxy." As a member of the Orthodox Church, Frances was also a subject of the tsar.

upper left hand side. On the first line is the gold embellished "Charles the Second grace" followed by his own titles and those of the tsar, all in gold.

[3] 25 May 1663, F. 35, op. 2, no. 90, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.

Charles the Second By the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of our faith,

To Our most Beloved Brother the most High, most Potent and Most Illustrious Prince the Great Lord Emperour and great Duke Alexie [*full titles follow, see [1]*],

Most excellent and Renowned Prince, Your Imperiall Maiesties letter written in your Imperiall Palace within your Imperiall city of Muscoe the third day of May 1662 Wee received with as much ioy and hearty affection as Wee believe your Imperial Maiesty sent it. And as [*illegible*] reason to returne Everlasting thanks up to the Omnipotent Lord of Heaven and Earth for his Singuler mercy and goodnesse unto us and Our People in restoring [*illegible*] so miraculously to the possession [*illegible*] Our Kingdomes, but alsoe of harts of all Our good Subiects. So amongst the sundry affectionate Congratulations which have been addressed unto us upon that accompt from many great Kings and Potentates, Our allies and Confederates, Wee resented [*sic*] none with soe much Kindnesse and senserity of true Brotherly Love as those which came from the hands of your Imperiall Maiestie and were sent to us by your Imperiall Maiesties great Ambassador, Kneaz Peter Symonowich Prozorofscoe [Kniaz' Petr Semeonovich Prozorovsky] Stolnick, Nameastnich, and [*sic*] Toolscov [Stolnick, Viceroy of Tula];³³ Evan Ofonaevech Zelabefscoe [Ivan Afanasevich Zhelyabuzhsky];³⁴ Dorineenz Nameastnich Coormishscoe [Dvorianin, Viceroy of Kurmysh];³⁵ and Deak Ivan Davidove [D'iak Ivan Davydov],³⁶ to whom after Wee had given audience Wee nominated and appointed severall of the Chief and Principall Lords of Our Privy Councell to meet and treat with your Imperiall Maiesties said great Embassadors unto whom Wee gave credence in all things which they have [*illegible*] or offered in your Imperiall Maiesties name. And whereas two of them (*viz.*) Evan Ofasevech [Ivan Afanasevich] and Evan Davidov

33 Prince Peter Prozorovsky, Stolnick and Viceroy of Tula. For accounts of the embassy, see Evelyn, *Diary*, pp. 449–450; Pepys, *Diary*, I, 310; S. Konovalov, *OSP*, x (1962), pp. 60–64. It was the first Russian mission to England after the restoration. A Dutchman travelling in England at the time also provides a brief description of Prozorovsky's reception. See *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels*, pp. 173–174.

34 Member of the Boyar Duma. Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*, p. 198.

35 We are unable to further identify Dvorianin.

36 Secretary of State.

[Ivan Davydov] had your Imperiall Maiesties commands to passe Out of Our Kingdomes into Italy about Princely affaires. Wee readily Consented thereunto first presenting them and their attendants boutiffully with several presents from Us and after permitting them to return not only (as your Imperiall Maiesty in your foresaid Letter desired without any Lic[ense]) but also with all requisite dispatches assistantes and honours which either they could demand or Wee could conferre upon them. That Noble person Keneaz Peter Semonowich who remained with Us and is now returning unto your Imperiall Maiestie; as he hath deserved extraordinarie praises for his great Civillities and iudicious management of your Imperiall Maiesties Commands, and the particular concerne and affection which hee hath Continually professed and expressed towards Us, so wee [*illegible*] dismissee him without some manifestation of Our Royall Bounty to him as alsoe to others his followers giving infinite thanks to your Imperiall Maiestie for sending Us soe eminent and worthy an Instrument to convey unto us the assurances of your Imperiall Maiesties true Brotherly love and amity towards Us; nor shall Wee bee wanting in any thing by the helpe of God to demonstrate and evidence unto all the world what a singular value and [*illegible*] esteeme Wee see upon your Imperiall Maiesties freindship which we shall evermore cordially embrace and endeavor to encrease and deserve the same by all the effects of an inviolable Brotherly alliance which wee shall also further [*illegible*] by our Ambassador when we shall send suddenly by the ships to your Maiesties port of Archangell.³⁷ So wishing you Our deare Brother health and prosperity in all your glorious designes Wee leave you to the Protection of Almighty God. Given at Our court at Whitehall the 25 day of May 1663 in the fifteenth year of Our Reigne.

Charles R.

The text is very faded. On the right side the problem of clarity is worsened by the endorsement bleeding through the parchment and the unstable inks used in the limning. This is the first of the letters of Charles II wherein the decoration is printed with engraved plates and afterwards colored. It was done by George Tomlin and

37 In return Charles Howard, first Earl of Carlisle, was sent as ambassador to Russia and had audience with the tsar on 11 February 1664. Bell, *Handlist*, p. 226. The account of the embassy was printed by his Secretary. See Guy de Miège, *A Relation of the Three Embassies*; Irina Zagorodnaya, "The Embassy of Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Carlisle," pp. 116–130 in *Brittania & Muscovy*; the Instructions for the embassy are in S. Konovalov, *OSP*, x (1962), pp. 64–75, also see the Russian Complaint against Carlisle (in Russian), *Ibid.*, pp. 95–104 and P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, and J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 106–112.

apparently by the end of 1665 he was still not paid for the work.³⁸ The initial 'C' is in a rectangular block in the upper left hand corner. The first words of the title are in black ink as is the initial and the pen work surrounding it. See also letters [4–18], [23], & [25]. From the upper arc of the 'C' hangs a gold framed medallion displaying an orange calendula; the end of the lower arc becomes a golden sheaf. At the center of the top margin is a royal coat of arms held by a gilded lion and a unicorn. To the left is a cartouche displaying a golden lion standing on a crimson and gold crown against a blue background, with palm fronds on both sides. To the right is the same cartouche displaying a crimson lion holding a sword and scepter, against a blue background with palm fronds. Between these royal symbols are springs of rose, calendula and something that may be musk flower interspersed with garden insects.

On the left hand margin are two cartouches, one of the golden English lions passant guardant on a crimson ground; and the second, three golden fleurs-de-lis on an azure ground. Between the cartouches are sprays of carnations, calendula, and trumpet flowers, with garden insects. On the right (one half the width of the left side), are three smaller cartouches of the English lion rampant, the Irish harp, and the Scottish thistle. Between them are sprays of peonies, honeysuckle, and pansies as on [5, 6, 10, 12, 13–18, 22, 23]. The border designs are set off from the text by a double ruled fine red line. The bottom is simply cut off indicating the parchment had been limned in advance and later cut to fit the letter.

[4] 27 May 1663, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 91, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.*

Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To our Dearly Beloved Brother The Most High most Potent and Most Illustrious Prince the Great Lord Emperor and Great Duke Alexie Michaelowich of all the Greater Lesser and White Russia Self upholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see [1]*],

Most Excellent and Renowned Prince, Wee did not think it possible that any thing could have been added to these high and endearing expressions of true Brotherly Love and Amity which your Imperiall Maiestie not only by the mouth of your great Ambassadors but also in your letter unto Us of May the 3rd 1662, until we received another letter [*illegible*] in your Imperiall Palace within your Great Imperiall City of Moscoe and from your Impreriall Privy Chamber the 30th day of July 1662 wherein you doe not only exceed the kinnesse and affections of all other Kings and Princes Our Confederates, but

38 *CSPD 1665–1666*, p. 109, Tomlin's petition for payment for writing and embellishing letters to the Emperor of Russia and Grand Seignior Vizier Azem in 1662 and 1663.

alsoe of your Imperiall Maiesties own Illustrious Ancesters with whom Our Royal Progenitors have long maintained so strict and sincere a bond of alliance, and from whom they have at all times received such signall testimonies of an extraordinary inviolable freindship. And therefore being moved with a Brotherly Emulation to imitate your Imperiall Maiestie in all your noble examples and Cordiall invitations to an everlasting Knot of Unity, Peace, and entire Correspondency between Us as Wee looke backe with much satisfaction on the brotherly Love and Amity which was held and continued from the beginning of the reigne of your Imperiall Maiesties Renowned father of blessed memory, the Great Lord Emperor and Great Duke Michaelo Foderowich of all Russia Self upholder to and with Our Royal Father of Glorious memory, King Charles the first; soe Wee shall endeavour on Our part to advance, improve, and increase all those meanes and Opportunities which may cause Our present Confederation to transcend all that hath been before us.

Amongst the many Princely vertues of Our said Incomparable father, that of his firm alliance with your Imperiall crowne doth iustly challenge Our highest Esteeme; and therefore Wee professe that Wee can never have a resentment equall either to the barbarous murder of that Royall Martyr or to your Imperial Maiesties generous detestation of soe horrid a fact, and of all the Authors and abettors thereof; which behaviour of your Imperiall Maiestie on our said Royall Fathers behalf Wee shall never forget, nor your Brotherly deare Kindnesse on your own behalfe when wee were in Our greatest streights.³⁹ And therefore that prosperity and happiness which it hath pleased Almighty God to restore us unto shall bee willingly employed to your Imperiall Maiesties contentment, and in a lively demonstration of those acknowledgments which Wee owe unto you, as we have more fully and often personally declared unto your Imperiall Maiesties Great Embassadour Keneaz Peter Symonowich Prosorofscoe [Kniaz' Petr Prozorovsky], Stolnick and Nameastnick Toolscoe [Stolnick and Viceroy of Tula],⁴⁰ whom at his parting from this kingdome Wee have endeavoured to possesse with the undoubted assurances of Our infinite and unspeakable affection to your Imperiall Maiestie, Our most deare and Loving Brother, to whom Wee wish from the bottom of Our heart, perfect health and prosperitie in all your glorious and Princely designs which together with a sacred Person

39 As a 'special ambassador' William Prideaux had had audience with the tsar on 16 February 1656. Bell, *Handlist*, p. 226. Bradshaw was refused entry into Russia, *Ibid.*, p. 278; Thurloe, *A Collection of State Papers*, VI, 278. P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 94–96. See *Ibid.*, Chapter 4, for a detailed account of the personnel and affairs between Russia and England during the early years of the Restoration.

40 See above, n. 33.

of your Imperial Maiestie Wee recommend to the Protection of Almighty God. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 27 day of May 1663 in the fifteenth yeare of Our Reigne.

Charles R.

The letter was printed and later colored. It was prepared by George Tomlin and the decoration consists primarily of symbols of state.⁴¹ The initial 'C' in the upper left corner is the same as that in the previous letter ([3]), but is rendered in gold and the medallion suspended from it contains a sprig of three daisy-like flowers. On the top border, not centered, is the crowned royal coat of arms with a lion and unicorn, framed with an ermine drape. Below it is the motto 'Dieu et mon Droit.' To the left is a lion on a crimson crown, to the right a seated lion with sword and sceptre. Between these emblems are cherries, a rose and thistle, and a sprig of strawberries. On the left border is a crimson shield with three gold lions passant guardant laid on a spray of leaves and a crowned azure shield with three fleurs-de-lis laid on a spray of strawberries. On the right border is a crowned gold shield with the red English lion rampant layed on a spray of carnations, below is a stem of cherries, a crowned azure shield with a gold harp, and a crowned thistle surrounded with the same daisy-like flower as in the medallion.

[5] 2 June 1663, F. 35, op. 2, no. 92, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.

Charles the Second By the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our Dearly Beloved Brother The most High most Potent and most Illustrious Prince the Great Lord and Emperor and great Duke Alexey Michaelowich of all the greater Lesser and White Russia Selfupholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see* [1]], [and] many more Dominons and Countries in the East, West, and North, Heir thereof both from Father and Grandfather, Lord and Monarche, sendeth Greeting and wisheth all Glory and happiness.

Most High most Potent and most Illustrious Prince, Your Emperiall Maiesties most humble servant and our deare-beloved Subiect Sir Andrew Forrett, Collonell, the bearer heirof (whom your Emperial Maiestie [*illegible*]) for attending your Emperiall Maiesties great ambassadour lately sent to Us in Your Emperiall Maiesties service,⁴² being a well-born Gentleman of an ancient Familie of Our Kingdome of Scotland and hath [*illegible*] himselfe as became a loyall and faithfull servant to your Emperiall Maiestie in the discharge of his dutie in that employment. Therefore wee have thought it fitt to testifie the truth of his extraction and his laudable cariage in Your Emperiall Maiesties

41 See above, n. 38.

42 Sir Andrew Forrett, a Colonel in the Russian army, was a translator for the Prozorovsky embassy. Fedosov, *Caledonian Connection*, p. 39. See above [3], and n. 33.

Service heir. [*sic*] This hath moved us to recommend the said Sir Andrew Forrett to Your Emperiall Maiestie hoping that his own deservinge, and our earnest recommendations may prevaile with Your Emperiall Maiestie to be gracious and favourable unto Him and preferr him to a chairg wherein he may be inabled to doe Your Emperiall Maiestie greater service in confidence whereof Wee hartilie wish from the bottome of Our heart perfect health and prosperitie in all Your Glorious and Princely designes which together with the Sacred Person of Your Emperiall Maiestie Wee recommend to the Protection of Almighty God. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 2d day of June 1663 and in the 15th yeare of our Raigne.

Charles R.

Printed and colored, the decoration with emblems of state is the same here as that on letters [3, 6], [10, 12–14] and presumably also done by George Tomlin.⁴³ The initial 'C' in the block in the upper left hand corner is the same as on all of the early Charles II letters (c. [1–18]), as are the black letters of the first line of the title. The medallion here is not framed as it is on [3 & 4]. Within the oval is an undistinguished five-petal flower limned in pink and blue. At the center on the top margin is the royal coat of arms with a lion and unicorn. To its left is a sprig of English rose and a cartouche with a gold lion on a crown with palms; to the right of center is a thistle and a cartouche with palms displaying a seated lion on a crown holding the sword and sceptre. The top border has been cut off on the right implying that a larger vellum was prepared and adjusted for size. The complete design is visible on letters [6 & 14]. Letter [13] was prepared and cut in the same way. The cartouches and flowers on the left and right margins are the same as those on [3, 6, 10, 12–17], although originally the colors may have varied. The documents are all faded, however, and it is difficult to know how vivid they were at the outset. Both sides are cut off at the bottom in the midst of the design.

[6] 30 June 1663, F. 35, op. 2, no. 93, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment. See Fig. 13.

Charles the Second By the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith,

To Our Dear Brother. The most High most Potent and most Illustrious Prince Great Lord and Emperor and great Duke Alexey Michaelowich of all the Greater Lesser and White Russia Selfupholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see [7]*] and many more Dominions and Countries both East, West, and North, Heire thereof both from Father and Grandfather Lord and Monarch Sendeth Greeting and wishes all Glory and Happinesse.

43 See above, n. 38.

Most Excellent and Renowned Prince, The extraordinary Satisfaction which Wee received from the late Embassie sent unto [*illegible*] your Imperial Maiestie hath made such an impression upon Our spirit that wee could not rest till Wee had returned the acknowledgement of Our most hearty thanks and [*illegible*] of Our inviolable Brotherly Amity and affection to your Imperiall Maiestie by an Ambassador of Our owne And indeed when Wee call to mind that Sincere [*illegible*] alliance which was alwayes held and maintained between Our Royall Predecessors, Kings and Queenes of England, and your Imperiall Ancestors but more especially your Imperial Maiesties particular friendship and generous resentment on the behalfe of Our late Royall Father of blessed memory and that singular evidence of your unparalleled love to Our Selfe in the time of Our late distresse and absence from Our Kingdomes. Wee cannot but accuse the multiplicity of those urgent affaires that have soe long delayed the discharge of that obligation to your Imperiall Maiestie which [*illegible*] always had in Our thoughts Since Our happy Restoration. But though your Imperiall Maiestie hath prevented Us in sending your Ambassador to Our Royall Court, and by that means add much to the [*illegible*] account of your Brotherly loving kindnesse towards Us, yet Wee shall endeavor to compensate the backwardnesse of Our addresse by such a reality of affection as shall satisfy all the world and good will towards your Imperiall Maiestie, but other intervening occasions that have hitherto hindred, and it was not want of [*illegible*] hindred and diverted Our intentions.

Wee are also further Confidente that the Choise which wee have made of an ambassador to be sent unto your Imperiall Court will in great measure demonstrate the particular high esteeme wee have of your Imperiall Maiesties person and Our desire to render you all possible honor being [*illegible*] Nobleman of Our Kingdomes descended of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, chief of the ancient and most flourishing family of the Howards. And as Wee ought not so send any of lesse quality to your Imperiall Maiesty [*illegible*] find any of greater dignity, eminence then this Our Right Trusty and Right well beloved Cousin and Councillor Charles Earle of Carlisle, Viscount Howard of Morpeth, Baron Dacre of Gillestand, and [*illegible*] Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, whom by Commission under Our great Seale of England Wee have nominated and constituted Our Ambassador Extraordinary unto your Imperial Maiestie, and doe thereof [*illegible*] you will give him a gracious audience, and full credence in all things appointing such of your Councillors to meet and treat with him as your Imperiall Maiestie shall think fit.⁴⁴ Wee doubt not but as he will propose nothing but [*illegible*] effectually conduce to the reciprocall benefit

44 Concerning the Carlisle embassy, see above, 37.

and advantage of both Nations. So your Imperiall Maiestie will as readily condescend theirunto. And soe leaving Our further desires in all Our mutuall concernment to be offered and enlarged by Our said Ambassador Extraordinary, Wee wish you Our Deare Brother, health and prosperity in all your glorious designs and leave you to the protection of Almighty God, Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 30th day of June the fifteenth yeare of Our reigne.

Charles R.

The printing and decoration was probably by George Tomlin.⁴⁵ The design, with the exception of several minor details, is like [5]. The framed medallion, however is similar to that in [4] with a daisy-type flower. The palms here are gold rather than green, and the pansies light blue and yellow, although that may be from fading.

The most interesting part of this letter is the bottom right hand border where the limner has forgotten to color the wood cut. The same is true on various parts of the top and left borders where the insects have not been colored. The work appears sloppy, a term reinforced by the cutting through the designs at the bottom of the parchment.

[7] 7 July 1663, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 94, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.*

[C]harles the Second B[y] the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith,

To Our Dear Brother most High most Potent and most Illustrious Prince the Great Lord Emperor and Great Duke Alexey Michaelowich of all the Greater Lesser and White Russia Selfupholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], and many more Dominions and Countries both East, West, and North, Heire thereof both from Father and Grandfather Lord and Monarch, sendeth Greeting and wishes all Glory and Happiness;

Most Illustrious Prince and Our most Renowned Loving Brother, Whereas Our Trusty and welbeloved Sir John Hebden, Knight [Hebdon],⁴⁶ hath in the name of your Imperiall Maiestie for some years past Resided at Our Royall Court and hath all along given eminent and acceptable testimonies unto Us of his fidelity, affection and service to your Imperiall Maiestie in promoting (as farre as to him appertained), the good and happy Correspondence and Unity

⁴⁵ See above, n. 38.

⁴⁶ John Hebdon (ktd. 1663) died in 1670. It is not clear that he was an official "ambassador extraordinary" as early as 1663–1664. He served in that capacity in 1667–1668, having an audience with the tsar on 20 September 1667, and again 1676–1678. *NA SP* 91/3, ff. 120–126; S. Konovalov, *OSP*, XIII (1967), pp. 59–61. Bell, *Handlist*, pp. 226–227. *ODNB*.

between Us and your Imperial Maiestie, which may it ever remaine and be increased.

Wee therefore thought fit to acknowledge his good services therein performed by preferring upon him the Honour of Knighthood in the presence of your Imperial Maiesties great Ambassador Kneaz Peter Simonowich Prozorofscoe [Kniaz' Petr Semeonovich Prozorovsky], Stolnick and Nameastnick Toolscoe [Stolnick and Viceroy of Tula].⁴⁷ And have also admitted him into the number of the Gentlemen of Our Privy Chamber. And further out of the abundance of Our [*illegible*] favour to him have been pleased by these Our Letters, and by Our Extraordinary Ambassador Our Right Trusty and Right well beloved Cosin and Councillor Charles Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Howard of Morpeth, Baron Dacre of Gellestand and Lord Lieutenant of our Counties of Cumberland and Westmerland [*sic*] to recommend him and his most acceptable service to your Imperiall Maiestie as a person both for his sufficient [*illegible*] discretion and good affection worthy of your Imperiall Maiesties particular regard and countenance he being as well capable as willing to do good offices between Us and Your Imperiall Maiestie and being well [*illegible*] that by his dexterity and experience in both Our courts he cannot but be usefull in promoting Our mutuall interests. Wee do therefore desire that upon all occasions wherein Our said Extraordinary Ambassador shall for the reasons aforesaid require his assistance in the expedition of Our Royall affaires, Your Imperial Maiestie would be pleased to afford unto the said Sir John Hebden your Imperial Maiesties gracious countenance and favour [*illegible*] admission at all times which may render him more capable and instrumentall to so good a purpose, and to such further ends as we have in Our Royall brest designed him to for the future. and herein your Imperaill Maiestie will do an act most acceptable unto Us and Wee hope no lesse conducing to your Imperiall Maiesties service, which with your Sacred person and glorious designes Wee leave to the protection [*illegible*] of Almighty God. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 7th day of July 1663 in the fifteenth year of Our Reigne.

Charles R.

Hebden travelled extensively in Russia having been admitted into the interior. In the 1650s he was known as a royalist in part responsible for undermining the Prideaux and Bradshaw mission under Cromwell.⁴⁸ He had also served as the tsar's commercial agent in the Netherlands and as his representative in England.

47 See above, n. 33.

48 P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 94.

*Apparently, while in London in 1661, members of the Muscovy Company prevailed upon him to help them.*⁴⁹

*Probably prepared by George Tomlin.*⁵⁰ *The document is defaced. The initial 'C' in the upper left corner, presumably rendered in gold as are the remaining letters of the first line of the title, has been cut off. The upper right corner of the letter has also disappeared, perhaps from a tear or from rot. The top border has a crimson and gold crowned Tudor rose at the center, a gold lion on a crimson crown to the left and a seated lion holding the scepter and sword of state on the right. Between the emblems of state are cherries, a red and white rose and a thistle as on [4]. The left hand border, wider by a third than the right, carries two shields bearing fleurs-de-lis and three lions; on the right are the shields of Scotland and Ireland with a crimson crowned thistle at the bottom. The borders are ruled off from the text in red.*

[8] 20 March 1665, F. 35, op. 2, no. 95, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment. See Fig. 13

Charles the Second By the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our Dearly Beloved Brother the most High most Potent and most Serene Prince the Great Lord Emperor and Great Duke *Alexey Michaelowich* of all the Greater Lesser and White Russia Selfupholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see [7]*] and many more Dominions and Countries both East, West, and North, Heire thereof both from Father and Grandfather Lord and Monarch, sendeth Greeting and wishes all Glory and Happiness;

Most Excellent and Renowned Prince, Wee have received your Imperial Maiesties⁵¹ Ambassador in Ordinary being your Stolnick Vaseely Yacovlewick Dashcone [Vasilii Iakovlevich Dashkov] and your Secretary Demetrius Sheepooleene [Dimitry Shipulin], to whom (according to your Imperiall Letter written at your Imperiall Palace in your Imperiall Citty of Musco in the yeare Since the Creation 7172, the 24th day of July) Wee have given a gracious reception and audience and heard the relation they have made unto Us concerning Our Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin and Counsellor Charles Earle of

49 See *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, II, pp. 247, 250.

50 See above, n. 38.

51 Regarding Dashkov, a Duma member, see Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors*, p. 200. He and Secretary Shipulin were sent to the King to explain the Russian dissatisfaction with the Carlisle embassy. *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, II, pp. 222–224. P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 110–111.

Carlisle,⁵² Our late Ambassador extraordinary to your Imperiall Maiestie; but Wee must freely professe that after mature consideration as well of the information of your Imperiall Maiesties said Ministers, as of the said Earl of Carlisles answer thereunto, Wee find no evidence or argument to perswade Us that hee the said Earle of Carlisle hath been Wanting in his respect to his Imperiall Maiestie, nor in his duty to us according to the Character wherewith Wee honoured him, though Wee could have borne with some failings of his in the latter rather than with the least miscarriage in the former, haveing so unchangeable an inclination and resolution to maintaine a perpetuall Brotherly Love and close alliance with your Imperiall Maiestie that Whosoever shall infringe or endanger the same cannot appeare otherwise to Us then guilty of an unpardonable offense.

We doe with many hearty thanks acknowledge (and Our said Ambassador Extraordinary hath noe lesse extolled) the magnificence and affection wherewith your Imperiall Maiestie received and used him. And Wee hope that Our carriage towards your Imperiall Maiesties Late Extraordinary Ambassadors With Us, Kneaz Peter Prozoroscoe [Kniaz' Peter Prozorovsky] and the rest, was in noe wise unbefitting your Imperial Maiesties honour and greatnesse, nor the ancient or present mutuall engagement of kindnesse and friendship betweene the two Crownes, nor any way short of what was vouchsafed by your Imperial Maiestie to our Ambassador. Wee do gratefully remind your particular Brotherly affection to Our selfe and Our late Royall Father of ever blessed memory and as in that regard your Imperiall Maiestie was pleased during the late disorder and rebellion in Our Kingdomes to suspend the priviledges of Our subiects trading in your Dominions. So upon Our Restoration to Our Royall Crowne and dignity Wee thought Wee might reasonably expect, and your Imperiall Maiesties Letters and the professions of your former Ambassadors made us thinke, Wee had good grounds to hope for the restoring of the said Priviledges of Our said Subiects together with such houses as they enjoyed at that time, according to the example and practice of other Princes and States in that kind. And untill the restoration of the said Priviledges and houses shall be fully made, Wee cannot but doubt that your Imperiall Maiestie hath not the same Brotherly Love and affection [*illegible*] which your Imperiall Maiesties glorious Ancestors have had towards Our Royall Predecessors. But when the same shall at this Our request be restored to Us and confirmed to Our Subiects, Wee shall [*illegible*] not onely to preserve all former Leagues between Our two Crownes derived downe to us from Our royall Ancestors, but strive to exceed them in all Offices of freindship toward your Imperiall Maiestie which

52 According to some he "displayed a confidence and assurance that bore no relation to his abilities." Ibid., p. 107. See above, n. 37.

assurance, having first admitted your Imperiall Maiesties forenamed Ambassador and Secretary to a private Audience in Our Royall Privy Lodgings, and declared our mind [*illegible*] Whereof Wee doubt not but they will give your Imperiall Maiestie, Our most Loving Brother, a fitt and satisfactory accompt. Wee have graciously dismissed them, Wishing you Our [*illegible*] Deare and Loving Brother your Imperiall Maiesties Health and prosperity in all your glorious designs, and heartily recommending you to the Protection and direction of Almighty God. Given at Our court at Whitehall the 20th of March 1664/65, in the Seaventeenth Yeare of Our Reigne.

Charles R.

Accounts of the Carlisle mission have been published.⁵³ The embassy was ultimately counted a failure underscoring a conflict of interests that could not be reconciled. The Dutch with larger ships and more cloth to trade were succeeding in driving the English out of Russian commerce. Throughout the remainder of the century the Muscovy Company declined in power and influence not only in Russia but also in England.⁵⁴

This letter is an example of the careless work of the limner who may have also been the printer (see [6]). The gold initial 'C' encircles a medallion with a crowned lion holding the royal coat of arms. On the top border at the center is a royal coat of arms surrounded by an ermine cape. To the left is a seated lion holding the sword of state and the scepter and to the right a lion standing on a crimson crown. Interspersed between these emblems of state are berries and flowers some of which were not limned. On the left at the top border are carelessly limned green leaves. On the right are thistles and strawberries where the limning was also neglected. On the left border are two crowned shields with flowers between, and on the right crowned emblems of Scotland and Ireland with a thistle at the bottom.

[9] 12 April 1665, F. 35, op. 2, no. 96, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.

Charles the Second By the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our Dearly Beloved Brother the most High most Potent and most Serene Prince the Great Lord Emperor and Great Duke Alexey Michaelowich of all the greater Lesser and White Russia Selfe upholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], and many more Dominions and Countries both East, West, and North, Heire thereof both from Father and Grandfather Lord and Monarch, sendeth Greeting and wishes all Glory and Happiness.

Most Excellent and Renowned Prince, Wee are so confidente of all justice and protection to Our Subjects remaining within any of your Imperiall Maiesties

53 See above, n. 37.

54 See Veluwenkamp, "Murman Coast," pp. 261–263.



FIGURE 13 13a. Charles II to Tsar Aleksei, 20 March 1665, RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 95; 13b. Charles II to Tsar Aleksei, 30 June 1663, RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 93.

Dominions that Wee might well have spared this Letter. And once Wee thought onely to have recommended the matter therein contained unto your Imperiall Maiesties Ambassadors now parting from Us, but Wee judged it more suitable to the brotherly affection and Kindnesse betweene Us to make Our application imediately to your Imperiall Maiestie to whom Wee shall lay downe the case of one of our Subjects, and then desire your Imperiall Maiesties favour on his behalfe.

Wee have been informed that a certaine Holland Merchant called David Rutts [Ruts], together with Thomas Hebden [Hebdon], an English Merchant now residing in Russia, and other English Merchants, was in the yeare 1651 engaged by bond to the Officers of your Imperiall Maiestie that John Osborne, another English Merchant, should pay 14000 Rix Dollars the yeare following at the Port of Archangell.⁵⁵ The time being expired, Osborne paid 5,000

55 The loan was to ensure the profits of the Caviar monopoly, regained by the Muscovy Company for a short period of time in the early 1650s. It was apparently repaid in 1651 with 100 barrels of caviar that Ruts sent to Venice. P. Dukes, G. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 192.

Rix dollars, part of the foresaid summe, and Rutts (upon certaine considerations agreed on betweene him and Osborne) undertook to pay the remainder thereof being 9000 Rix dollars which accordinglie hee satisfied, and the foremencioned Bond for 14000 Rix dollars was taken up, as will appeare in the books of your Imperiall Maiesties said officers. But the said Thomas Hebdon and others having given the said Ruts a Counter-bond to secure him upon his first engagement for the said 14000 Rix dollars did (after the debt was fully paid) call for their said Counterbond, which the said Ruts told them he had not by him at that present, but promised to deliver the same assoone [*sic*] as he should come to the Citty of Moscoe where he had left it, howsoever acknowledging then that hee was satisfied concerning his engagement as aforesaid. Ruts his being absent out of Russia for some yeares after was the cause that the said Counterbond was not delivered up according to promise, and not long after his returne to Russia hee died there, leaving divers Children and others his heires and executors behind him. But neither bee from the yeare 1651 as aforesaid, nor any after his decease did ever make any demand or cause any trouble to the said Thomas Hebden [Hebdon] or others engaged in the said Counterbond either by way of complaint or arrest till the yeare 1664 when the heirs of the said Ruts, pretending some debts due from the forementioned Osborne to the said Rutts, would make the said Hebden liable to pay them or at least the sum of 14000 Rix dollars; although the debts which they pretend of the said Osborne (if any such be) were contracted by the said Osborne since and after the sealing of the said Counterbond and have no relation to the same. Yet the heirs of the said Rutts have accused the said Hebdon for the summe of 14000 Rix Dollars, so long since satisfied, the other English Merchants engaged in the said Counterbond, being all of them either dead or retired out of your Imperiall Maiesties Dominions. By all this relation your Imperiall Maiestie will clearly perceive (as Wee thinke it Manifest to us) that this arrest of the said Thomas Hebdon or Bill of complaint against him is a groundlesse and vexatious proceeding; and therefore Wee doe in very particular manner recommend him unto your Imperial Maiesties justice and goodnesse, that your Imperiall Maiestie will not suffer him to be oppressed in an action wherein he is not concerned, and which (if his adversaries should have their will), might prove his utter ruine. But Wee are well assured that the judgment, righteousness and clemency which are lodged in your Imperiall breast will not only protect and releive the said Thomas Hebden in this exigent, but will also effectually intercede and prevaile with your Imperiall Maiestie upon all other occasions to extend your accustomed favour and Patronage to all Our Subjects the English Merchants within your Dominions whensoever they shall fly to your Imperiall Maiestie for defence from wrongs and iniuries. This we promise Our selfe from your Imperiall Maiestie, Our most deare and Loving Brother, to

whom Wee heartily wish all glory and felicity in this world, and in that which is to come. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 12th day of Aprill 1665 in the Seaventeenth yeare of Our Reigne.

Charles R.

The lion in the medallion in the initial is holding a stylized shield displaying two interlocking gold 'C's on a blue background. The emblems on all of the borders are the same as in [8]. The flower sprigs, although of the same varieties, are in a different order here. On this letter, unlike the previous one, the limning was completed.

[10] 29 December 1665, F. 35, op. 2, no. 97, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment. For the tsar's reply, 9 October the same year, see S. Knovalov, *OSP*, XIII, pp. 48–50; *Diary of Patrick Gordon 1635–1699*, II (1659–1667), pp. 221, 251.

Charles the Second By the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith,

To Our Dearly Beloved Brother, the most High most Potent and most Illustrious Prince the Great Lord Emperor Great Duke *Alexey Michaelowich* of all the greater lesser and White Russia Self upholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], and many more Dominions and Countries both East, West, and North, Heire thereof both from Father and Grandfather Lord and Monarch, Sendeth Greeting and wishes all Glory and Happiness.

Most Excellent and Renowned Prince, Wee doubt not but that your Imperiall Maiestie Our most Deare Loving Brother hath heard of the differences which are fallen out between Us and the States Generall of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, occasioned by their and their subiects comitting severall insolencies against Us and injuries upon Our Subjects. Which to repress, as also to vindicate the Sovereignty of Princes (Which that Commonwealth is but too apt to violate), Wee have been enforced to take up arms against the said States not doubting but Wee shall bring them to give us such satisfaction as the iustice of Our cause requireth.⁵⁶ And although Wee have already the last summer by the blessing of God had severall victories at Sea over them under the conduct of Our Dearest Brother *James Duke of York and Albany* and Our Lord High Admirall of England, etc., and other Our Admiralls and Commanders of Our Fleets, Yet their obstinacy requiring a further chastisement, Wee are still obliged both to make more then ordinary Navall provision for Our owne use and to hinder them all We can. Being therefore giuen to understand that the Subjects of the said United Provinces do furnish themselves with Masts for Ships and with Tarre out of Your Imperiall Maiesties Dominions for their

⁵⁶ I.e., the first Dutch war 1664–1667.

Navall use to bee employed against Us and Our Forces Wee, having great confidence of your Imperiall Maiesties Brotherly Love and affeccion towards Us and of your readiness to prefer Us before Our Enemies in granting Us any advantage of commerce, do hereby desire that Your Imperiall Maiestie will not for the future suffer the subjects of the said United Provinces to ship from Your Port of Archangel, or any other Your Imperiall Maiesties Seaports within Your Dominions, any Masts for ships or Tarre but will on the contrary permitt the buying up and free shipping out of your Territories all such Masts for ships and Tarre for Us and the service of Our Navy during the terme of five years next ensuing by such person or persons as We shall employ for that purpose.

And because Wee know the good inclinaccons which Our Trusty Welbeloved Servant Sir John Hebden [Hebdon] Knight, Gentleman of Our Privy Chamber hath to the service of Your Imperiall Maiestie as well as to Our Self, whereof Wee have had sufficent experience, Wee have thought him a person most fit to be employed in that Our service and do therefore desire Your Imperiall Maiestie to confirme unto him the said Sir John Hebden or his assignes the sole buying at (reasonable and usuall rates) and free transporting out of Your Imperial Maiesties Dominions of all such Masts for ships and Tarre for Our Navall Service as he or his assignes shall from time to time during the said term of five years receive Instructions from Us or the Principall Officers of Our Navy Which We shall acknowledge as a particular signe of Your Imperiall Brothers love and affection towards Us and will be ready upon all occasions to returne the like unto Your Imperiall Maiestie when it shall be desired of Us.

Wee shall also take this opportunitie to let your Imperiall Maiestie know that Wee have long expected to hear from Your Imperiall Maiestie in returne to what Wee desired and writ on the behalfe of Our Subjects the Merchants by Your Imperiall Maiesties late ambassadour the Stolnick Vassalea Jacovelewich Dashcove [Vasilii Iakovlevich Dashkov] and the Dealk Meetre Sheepoolin [Diak Dimitrii Shipulin]. But Wee are willing to thinke Your Imperiall Maiesties delay in answering Us hath not been for want of affection to Us but rather that Your Imperiall Maiestie being informed of the late Mortality wherewith it pleased *God* to visitt Our Royall City of London hath forborn writing to Us. And now since it has pleased *God* to asswage and remove the said Contagion from Our said City and other parts of Our Kingdome, We hope speedily to receive the effects of Your Imperiall Maiesties compliance with Our desires on that behalf. These Our Letters Wee intended to have sent unto Your Imperiall Majestie by an Expresse, but finding the passage dangerous through Our Enemies Territories (which cannot be well avoided) Wee have therefore caused them to bee conveyed to Our Trusty Thomas Bryan, one of Our Subjects residing in Your Imperiall City of Mosco, whom Wee have commanded to present

the same unto Your Imperiall Majestie.⁵⁷ Wishing Your Imperial Majestie Our Most Deare and Loving *Brother* all health and prosperity in all Your Princely designes, Written att Our Royall Court at *Oxford*, the xxix day of December 1665.⁵⁸

Charles R.

*General Patrick Gordon, a Scotsman in the employ of the tsar, wrote that "the warr which the King had with France and Holland being like to continue, by the advice of the Moskovia Merchants, the King did writt to the Tzaar by post, showing of the warr he had with France and Holland, and how that he was informed that the Hollanders brought much materials for their shipping from Russia, which he desired might not be permitted by them, and that it might be free for his Majesties subjects to buy such Materialls." Gordon continued, "this letter was kept very closs a while, untill they resolved upon an answer," noting that they were "loth to offend the Hollanders."*⁵⁹

Printed with wood blocks and limned as in letters [3], [5], and [12–18]. The side borders are similar to [3] and exactly like [5]; see above. Both sides have been cut off in the midst of the design indicating that the parchment was pre-prepared and later adjusted to fit the text. On both borders are light rulings to indicate, I believe, where the printing blocks were to be placed. The unframed medallion within the initial 'C' displays the royal coat of arms, held by a lion, and encircled with English roses and thistles. The same medallion appears on [12] in gold and on [13 and 15] colored as it is here.

[11] 25 January 1667, F. 35, op. 2, no. 98, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment. 69.5 × 92cm.

Charles the Second By the grace of [*illegible*] England, Scotland France and Ireland [*illegible*],

To our dearly Beloved Brother the most high, and most Illustrious Prince [*the full titles follow but are very faded and spoiled by damp as are the first thirteen lines of the text*].

[*Illegible*] the Brotherly professions your Imperial Maiestie hath made [*illegible*] that the trade of Our Merchants is by your Imperial Maiestie [*illegible*] forbidden for this yeare, by reason that your Imperial Maiestie hath been informed by severall intelligences and printed Gazetts, that the Plague of

57 Thomas Bryan was functioning as a correspondent with and courier for the Company. P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 108 and n. 13; *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, II, pp. 232, 235.

58 In November 1664 plague broke out in London and the court moved to Oxford.

59 *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, II, pp. 223–224.

Pestilence doth still rage in Our Royall Maiesties Dominions, We might have [*illegible*] that your Imperiall Maiestie would not give credit to the printed Papers and artifices of Our enemies whose practice it has been and is to give out to the world that which may most advance their designs without any regard to trust [*illegible*] When in this very particular Wee can assure your Imperiall Maiestie contrary to their malicious rumours that the Plague is lately ceased in Our Royall Cittie of London and in all our Ports for which infinite mercy Wee give hearty thanks unto Almighty God and as we doubt not but the knowledge hereof wilbe most acceptable to your Imperiall Maiestie Our most loving Brother, so Wee will be confident that upon the receipt of theise Our Letters your Imperiall Maiestie will recall all Prohibitions in that kind so that the next ships that shall come from Our Kingdomes may with their Merchants and Merchandize bee admitted to a freedom of Trade in your Imperiall Maiesties Ports and Dominions as formerly what concerns the Restoration of your Imperiall Maiesties priuiledges to Our Subjects the Merchants, seeing Wee cannot preuaile with your Imperiall Maiestie to grant them at present though Wee cannot be satisfied with your Imperiall Maiesties answers to that particular, yet Wee [*illegible*] some measure support Our [*illegible*] wish [*illegible*] to find the same anchor time granted to Us not doubting in the least of your Imperiall Maiesties Brotherly inclinations and reall performances So wishing your Imperiall Maiestie Our most Deare and Loving Brother Long life with a most happy and successful Raigne having most graciously dispatched your Imperiall Maiesties Colonell Patrick Gordon with theise Our Royall Maiesties Letters, Wee comitt your Imperiall Maiestie to the Protection of Almighty God. Given at Our Court in Our Royall Cittie of London the five and twentieth day of January 1666 in the eighteenth yeare of Our Raigne.⁶⁰

Charles R.

This letter is badly spoiled by damp. The first half is illegible, with the exception of a few random words. Gordon records in his diary that on 18 January he was sent for to have his last audience with the King before returning to Russia. Charles II delivered to him the letters for the tsar "out of his owne hands" and instructed Gordon to remember him to the tsar "and salute his deare and loveing brother." Gordon, however, noticed that the superscription of the letter contained the word 'Illustrissimo' rather than 'Serenissimo' and told Sir John Hebdon to tell the Secretary of State that he would "not for my head carry such a letter with me,"

60 Ibid., pp. 261–265. The letter is printed in full in the diary. The date at the end is 27 December 1666. According to Fedosov the discrepancy may relate to Gordon's request to have the letter recopied because of the superscription addressed to "Most Illustrious" rather than "Most Serene."

remembering “what a great deale of stirr there had been in Mosko with the Earle of Carlisle in Mosko about that word.” Whereupon the Secretary promised to have it amended.⁶¹

The decoration is spoiled by damp and the detail on the motifs obliterated. Within the initial ‘C’ is a medallion showing two intertwined red and white English roses and two thistles. In the center of the top border is the royal coat of arms, on the right of it a lion standing on the crown, and on the left a seated lion holding the sword and scepter as in [8] and [9]. The floral work between the emblems consists of thistles and roses. The emblems of state on the left and right borders are the same as on earlier letters [8, 4, 7, 8, and 9].

[12] 28 April 1667, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 100, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.* Charles the Second By the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our dearly Beloved Brother the most High most Potent and most Serene Prince, the Great Lord Emperor and greate Duke *Alexeyov Michaylowichov* of all the Greater Lesser and white Russia, Self Upholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see [1]*], and many more Dominions and Countries both East, West, and North, Heire thereof both from Father and Grandfather Lord and Monarch, sendeth Greeting and wisheth all Glory and Happiness;

Most Excellent and Renowned Prince, On the five and twentieth day of January last past Wee Our Royall Maiestie returned your Imperiall Maiesties Colonell Patrick Gordon with Our Royall Maiesties Letter to your Imperiall Maiestie in answer to your Imperiall Letter to Us dated the nine and twentieth of June last in your Imperiall Maiesties Imperiall Courte in Mosco; since which, out of Our greate affection to keepe up and maintaine a good understanding and entire Amity betweene Our Royall Maiestie and Your Imperiall Maiestie, by the advice of Privy Council Wee have thought fitt and expedient to send the Bearer hereof, Our Trusty and Welbeloved Sir John Hebdon, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of Our Royall Privy Chamber, Our Royall Maiesties Envoye Extraordinary unto your Imperiall Maiestie,⁶² To whom We have given Our Royall Instructions with ample Commission to transact and treat of all Our affaires between Our Royall Maiestie and your Imperiall Maiestie which may co[n]cerne either Our Selves or any of Our Subjects and he, our said Envoye Extraordinary, arriving at your Imperiall Maiesties Court, Wee have commanded him to make his abode there untill such time as Our Royall Maiestie

61 Ibid.; *CSPD* 1673, p. 526.

62 I.e., Hebdon's mission of 15 March 1667–September 1668. He had audience with the tsar 20 September 1667. Bell, *Handlist*, p. 226.

shall comand him home againe, desiring you, Our Loving Brother, your imperial Maiestie to give credit to him Our said Envoye Extraordinary, Sir John Hebdon, in all whatsoever be in Our Royal Maiesties name propound[ed] or declare[ed] to your Imperiall Maiestie or before your Imperiall Maiesties Lords Commissioners on Our Royall Maiesties behalf, or for those Our Royall Maiesties subjects residing in your Imperiall Maiesties dominions. And by reason of the present Warr which Wee have with some of Our Neighbours, which make the way to your Imperiall Maiesties Court more full of hazard and the journey difficult, Wee Our Royall Maiestie have commanded Our said Envoye Extraordinary to pass unto your Imperiall Maiesties Dominions Incognito for his more safety, hoping that your Imperiall Maiestie will afford him that esteeme as if Wee our Royall Maiestie had sent him in as much splendor as in times of Peace others of his qualification have been sent from Our Royall Maiestie to your Imperiall Maiestie or any other Christian Prince.⁶³

Thus wishing your Imperiall Maiestie Our Most Deare and Loving Brother Long life, with a most peaceable and prosperous Reign. Wee Our Royall Maiestie comit your Imperiall Maiestie and all your Princely designes to the Protection of the most High and Omnipotent *God*. Written att Our Royall Court in our Royall Citty of London the eight and twentieth day of Aprill 1667 in the nineteenth yeare of Our Reigne.

Charles R.

This letter is identical in design to [12]; it varies in color. Whereas the floral sprigs and decorations around and between the cartouches in the previous letter were rendered entirely in gold, in the present letter they are colored according to nature. It is similar to [3, 5, 6, 10, 13–17, 21, 22]

[13] 20 September 1667, *F. 35, op.2, no. 101, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.*⁶⁴

Charles the Second By the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the faith, etc.

To our Dearly Beloved Brother the Most High Most Potent and Most Serene Prince the great Lord and Emperor and Great Duke *Alexeye Michaylowichou* of all the Great Lesser and White Russia, Selfe Upholder of Moscousskomu [*full titles follow, see [1]*], and many other Countreys and Kingdomes in the East and West and North, Fathers and Grandfathers Successive Heire, Lord and Possessor, sendeth Greeting and wisheth all glory and happinesse.

63 NA, SP 104/175, ff. 307; and NA, SP 91/3, ff. 123; S. Konovalov, *OSP*, X111 (1967), pp. 59–61.

64 The letter was carried from London by two Russian messengers, Mikhail Golovin and Fedka Akishev. S. Konovalov, *OSP*, X111 (1997), p. 50.

Most excellent and Renowned Prince, Wee cannott easily find out words sufficient to expresse the gratefull sentiments of Our Royall heart for that most deare and obliging testimony which you Our Loving Brother the great Lord your Imperiall Maiestie have lately given Us of your sincere and intimate affection towards Us by your Loving Letters of the fourth of June last, presented unto Us in Our Royall Court by your Imperiall Maiesties Envoye Michala Nikiticha Golovinka [Michael Golovin] whereby you Our Most loving Brother your Imperiall Maiestie are pleased to communicate unto Us the happy foundation you have layd of a blessed and endlesse Peace between you Our most Deare Brother your Imperiall Maiestie and Our Brother the great Lord John Casimir, King of Poland and great Duke of Lithuania, by having lately concluded and agreed a present Truce for Thirtie yeares and six Moneths to the Glorie of God and the mutuall Benefit and Advantage of both your Dominions and Subiects. And you Our Most Loving Brother your Imperiall Maiestie have but further pleased in the same Letter to acquaint Us with both your resolutions and proceedings in relation to those neighbouring Princes of the Mahometan [Mohammedan] Religion, the Turkish Sultan and the Crim [*illegible*] seeing the coniunction of two soe great and Mighty Princes as you Our Most deare Brother your Imperiall Maiestie and Our said Brother his Royall Maiestie the King of Poland will Wee hope looke upon the same with that awe and due consideration as not to attempt any hostility upon either of your countreys and Territories. So while you preserve yourselves by that sacred bond of a Brotherly Union you will noe lesse give a check to those perillous Neighbors and defend all Christendome from their cruell Invasion. Wee shall beseech the Almighty God that by his gracious influence and benediction the Peace so happily begun between you Our Most Loving Brother your Imperiall Maiestie and Our Good Brother the King of Poland may be made everlasting.⁶⁵ But if it should happen that your great and Plenipotentiary Ambassadors on both sides should not come to an acceptable agreement within the yeares of the present pacification, Wee Our Royall Maiestie will be ready to doe all Christian Offices that you Our Most Deare Brother your Imperiall Maiestie shall desire of Us to remove all differences and misunderstandings that have been or may arise between you the great Lords; and so to compose the same that a firme and inviolable League of Amity may be established between you both and transmitted to your Posterity and successors for ever.

And now Most deare and Loving Brother, knowing that your Imperiall Maiestie is no less concerned for Our good and welfare then Wee are for yours, Wee are willing to take this occasion to give you Our Most Loving Brother

65 The Treaty of Andrusovo was signed on 30 January/9 February 1667.

your Imperiall Maiestie an account of a firme entire and perpetuall Peace and frindship which Wee also have very lately made and concluded with Our Neighbours the great Lords the French King and the King of Denmark, and with the Lords States General of the United Netherlands.⁶⁶ So that being freed from the incumbrance of a great and chargeable Warre Wee shall bee the better able to comply with the Affaires of all other Princes Our good friends and Allies. And as Wee are confident that none of them will more heartily reioyce for Our peaceable and flourishing condition then you Our Most Deare Brother your Imperiall Maiestie, soe Wee on our part shall at all times endeavour to show that Wee have as sensible and particular regard to the prosperity of your Our Most Loving Brother your Imperiall Maiestie as of any other Prince whatsoever. Thus according to your Imperiall Maiesties desire Wee have without delay disbatched your Imperiall Maiesties said Envoye with these Our loving Letters wishing you Our Most Deare Brother your Imperiall Maiestie all health and felicity. Written at Our Royall Court at Whitehall the 20th day of September 1667 in the nineteenth yeare of Our Reigne.

Charles R.

*This letter and the next three were apparently written by a new clerk who transliterated the titles of the Russian tsar using the dative case that produced the ending "komu" on the place names of the tsar's dominions.*⁶⁷

The decoration exactly replicates that on [12]. It is similar to [3, 5, 6, 10, 13, 15–17, 21, 22].

[14] 20 February 1668, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 99, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.*

Charles the Second by the Grace of the most High God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our Deare Brother the Most High Most Potent and Most Serene Prince the Great Lord Emporer and great Duke *Alexi Michoylowichou* of all the Great Lesser and white Russia Self Upholder Moscousekomu [*full titles follow, see [1]*], and many other Kingdomes and Countries in the East, and West, and North, Fathers and Grandfathers successive Heire Lord and Possessor, sendeth Greeting and wisheth all Glory and Happinesse.

Most excellent and renowned Prince, At the humble request of our Beloved Subject William Parker, Merchant,⁶⁸ Wee have already written two Letters unto your Imperiall Maiestie, the last whereof was dated the sixth day of December

66 The Treaty of Breda was ratified on 31 July 1667.

67 I thank Professor Paul Bushkovitch for this linguistic comment.

68 Parker was a member of the Company. Arel, "Muscovy Company," p. 114. See also P. Dukes, G. Herd, and J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 113.

1666 and both of them of the same tenor and importance, setting forth That Our said Subject having made a voyage into your Imperial Maiesties Dominions to look after the Estate of his deceased Servant, Eamond Bedingfield, and presented divers Petitions to your Imperiall Maiestie for right [*illegible*] in severall Pretensions and Justice upon his Debtors praying that hee might have liberty to sell his pledged goods whereby to pay his Debts to your Imperiall Maiestie and to depart out of your Country and return home.⁶⁹ But in regard Our said former two Letters either have not come to your Imperial Maiesties knowledge or by some means are not yet so succesfull as was hoped whereby Our said Subiect doth still remaine without relief to his great damage and detriment. Wee are graciously pleased by these Our third Royall Letters to reiterate Our former Recomendations and Intercescion on the behalfe of the said William Parker, desiring your Imperiall Maiestie to take his case into your most Gracious and Princely consideration and according to the Brotherly amity and friendship which is established between Us for the mutuall good of Our Subjects and Dominions that your Imperiall Maiestie will be pleased to give speedy and effectuall Order for due satisfaction to bee made unto Our said Subject in all his just pretensions, and having obtayned the same to allow him free liberty to return home unto this his Native Country and to Our Service. Wee have that full perswasion of your Imperiall Maiesties iustice and clemency that Wee cannot in the least doubt of a favourable compliance with this Our desire but shall willingly and readily embrace all opportunities of expressing the like favour and equity to any of your Imperial Maiesties Subiects that may happen to have the like occasions in Our Dominions. So wishing Your Imperiall Majestie all health and felicity Wee commit you Our Most Deare Brother to the Protection of the Most High and Omnipotent *God*. Written at Our Royall Court at *Whitehall* the Twentieth-Day of February-1667 in the Nineteenth Year of Our Raigne.

Charles R.

The royal emblems on the borders with the coat of arms at the center top are the same as those on [12], although here there is more gold and less color. It is similar in design to [3, 5, 6, 10, 13–17, 21, 22].

[15] 15 January 1669, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 102, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.*

Charles the Second By the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.,

69 Parker also served as a translator and wrote to his brother regarding the settling of the Bedingfield estate. NA, SP 91/3, ff. 114–116v.

To our Dearly Beloved Brother the Most High Most Potent and Most Serene Prince the great Lord and Emperor and Great Duke *Alexie Michaylowichou* of all the Great Lesser and White Russia, Self Upholder of Moscousekoumu [*full titles follow, see [1]*], and many other Dominions and Countreys in the East and West and North, Fathers and Grandfathers Successive Heire, Lord and Possessor Sendeth Greeting and wisheth all glory and happinesse.

Most excellent and renowned Prince, Our late Envoy Extraordinary in your Imperiall Maiesties court Sir John Hebden [Hebdon], Knight, being returned unto Our Royall Maiesties presence hath delivered unto us Your Imperiall Maiesties letter dated in the yeare since the creation 7176, the 15th day of the Moneth of June by which as well as by the said Sir John Hebdens relaccion Wee perceive Your Imperiall Maiesties kind and Brotherly disposicion not onely to continue and encrease that good correspondence and firme amity which hath been so many yeares maintained and mutually observed between Our Predecessors of glorious memory, and further improved by divers and considerable demonstracons of a most entire affection between Our Selfe and Your Imperiall Maiestie, but also to doe Our Subjects trading to and in Your Imperiall Maiesties Dominions that Right which Wee have reasonably desired of Your Imperiall Maiestie on their behalfe concerning the Restitution of their ancient Priviledges suspended some few Yeares last past by your Imperiall Maiestie in regard of the troubles which then discomposed Our kingdomes and affaires at home.⁷⁰ But your Imperiall Maiestie having so often by former letters and promises given us cause to believe that the same should be re-established and confimed as soon as those Wars were ended wherein Your Imperiall Maiestie was lately engaged.

Wee cannot doubt of Your Imperiall Maiesties sincere and Brotherly intentions in that particular as well as in all others that shall any way concerne the preservation of an unalterable Alliance between Our Crownes and Persons. Wee have therefore sent Our Trusty and welbeloued Sir Peter Wyche Knight, one of the Gentlemen of Our Royall Priuy Chamber our envoy Extraordinary unto Your Imperiall Maiestie having given him Our Royall Instructions and Commands for the ends above menconed.⁷¹ And as Wee are confident his arrivall will be acceptable to Your Imperiall Maiestie so we desire you, Our Loving Brother, your Imperiall Maiestie, to give full and entire credit unto him in all whatsoever he shall in Our Royall Maiesties name propound or declare to Your Imperiall Maiesties Lords Commissioners on Our Royall Maiesties behalfe

⁷⁰ Concerning Hebdon, see above, n. 46.

⁷¹ Sir Peter Wyche served as Envoy Extraordinary 4 February to 24 November 1669 and had audience with the tsar on 17 June the same year. Bell, *Handlist*, p. 226.

or for our Subjects and Merchants residing and trading in Your Imperiall Maiesties Dominions. Wee have in especiall manner commanded our said Envoye Extraordinary to assure You Our Deare Brother Your Imperiall Majesty of the high esteeme Wee have of your Imperiall Majesties Person, and of the singular affection Wee beare to the same, Which Wee shall upon all occasions bee ready to manifest to Your Imperiall Majesties satisfaction and content. So wishing Your Imperiall Maiestie Our Most Deare and loving Brother long life with a prosperous and Victorious Reigne, Wee our Royall Majestie commit Your Imperiall Majestie and all your Princely designs to the Direction and Protection of the Most High and Omnipotent *God*. Written at Our Royall Court in Our Royall Citty of Westminster the 15th day of January in the Yeare of Our Lord 1668, and of Our Reigne the Twentieth.

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles R.

The tsar's title is written using the dative case; see above, letter [13]. This is the first letter from Charles II to the tsar that carries a personal closing with the king's signature. The block containing the initial 'C' has been cut off of the letter. The remainder of the design is exactly as [12], the floral decoration between the emblems is rendered in gold on this letter rather than in color as on [3, 5, 6, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22].

[16] 16 August 1670, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 103, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment.*

Charles the Second By the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our Deare Brother the Most High Most Potent and Most Serene Prince the Great Lord Emperor and Great Duke Alexey Michaelowich of all the Great Lesser and White Russia Self Upholder Muscousekomu [*full titles follow, see [1]*], and many other Kingdomes and Countreys in the East and West and North, Fathers and Grandfathers Successive Heire, Lord and Possessor, Sendeth Greeting and wisheth all glory and happinesse;

Most Excellent and Renowned Prince, Being given to understand that Generall Major Philippus Albertus Van Buckhoven [Bockhoven] with his wife and Family have been some years in Your Imperiall Maiesties Dominions and that himself hath been particularly employed in your Imperiall Maiesties service,⁷² Wee hold Our self obliged to render your Imperiall Maiestie Our hearty thanks for your protection and favour so graciously extended unto him the said Generall Major as to a person who having heretofore been in Our

72 There were several of the family of Bockhoven in Russia at the time and known to Patrick Gordon whose wife, Catherine, was a Bockhoven. See *Diary of Patrick Gordon*, II, p. 262 and Index.

service did and doth deserve very well at Our hands. And for as much as Wee have special occasion now againe to make use of our said ancient servant Generall Major Van Buckhouven [Bockhoven], Wee doe easily perswade Our self that at Our request (which Wee do hereby make) your Imperiall Maiestie will permit him together with his said wife and family freely and speedily to return unto Us, which Wee shall take as an obligation laid upon Us by your Imperiall Maiestie and study to make due acknowledgment of the same when any fitt opportunity shall offer itself.

Wee are also informed that there is another servant of Ours, one *Caspar Calhoff* [Caspar Calthopp],⁷³ in your Imperiall Maiesties service on whose behalfe Wee have likewise thought fit to intercede with your Imperiall Maiestie that you would be pleased to grant him your Imperiall License to come back into this Our Kingdome of *Great Britaine* where he will be very useful to Us in the performance of those services in which Wee have formerly employed him. In the last place Wee shall intreat your Imperiall Maiesties favour towards one of our subiects now also in your Imperiall Maiesties Dominions, William Parker, a Merchant,⁷⁴ on whose behalf *Wee* have sent severall of Our Royall Letters unto your Imperiall Maiestie and doe now againe desire that your Imperiall Maiestie will grant him a speedy dispatch with liberty to returne into his native Countrey where his affaires doe suffer some preiudice for want of his presence and personall care. The entire Amity and perfect good correspondence which is betweene Us and your Imperiall Maiestie gives us the confidence of declaring these Our desires unto your Imperiall Maiestie and assurance that Wee shall obtaine the same, being resolved on Our part to omit nothing that may contribute to the mutuall good of Our Dominions and Subiects and to the full demonstration of Our high esteem and that Brotherly affection which Wee beare to your Imperiall Maiesties person. So wishing your Imperiall Maiestie Our Most Deare and Loving Brother long life with a prosperous and Victorious Reign, Wee Our Royall Maiestie commit your Imperiall Maiestie and all your *Princely* designes to the Direction and Protection of the most High and *Omnipotent God*. Written at Our Royall Court in Our Royall City of Westminster the 16th day of August in the yeare of Our Lord 1670 and of Our Reigne the two and Twentieth.

Your affectionate brother,
Charles R.

73 Ibid., pp. 262 and n. 621. Calhoffe was a gunsmith. An example of his work is in the Kremlin Armoury Museum, see *Britannia & Muscovy*, p. 135, Cat. 50, fig. 35. Apparently he had been unable to leave Moscow with the Carlisle embassy.

74 See above, nn. 68 and 69.



FIGURE 14 Charles II to Tsar Aleksei, 16 August 1670, RGADA F. 35, op. 2, no. 103.

The letter is similar to that of [3, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 17, and 22] although there is no floral work in the initial block but a simple medallion of gold scrollwork. The letter was prepared by Gideon Royer.⁷⁵

[17] 9 April 1673, F. 35, op. 2, no. 104, RGADA. To Tsar Aleksei. Parchment. Charles the Second By the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our Deare Brother the Most High Most Potent and Most Serene Prince the Great Lord Emperor and Great Duke Alexey Michaelowich of all the Great Lesser and White Russia Self Upholder Muscousekomu [full titles follow, see [1]], and many other Kingdomes and Countreys in the East and West and North, from Fathers and Grandfathers Successive Heire, Lord and Possessor, Sendeth Greeting and wisheth all glory and happinesse.

⁷⁵ CSPD 1670, Appendix 1660–1670, p. 464.

Most Excellent and Renowned *Prince*, *Wee* have received your *Imperiall Maiesties* Letter written the Eleaventh day of October last past and brought unto Us by your *Imperiall Maiesties* Envoyé Andrea Vynes [Andrei Andreevich Vinius],⁷⁶ Whereby *Wee* find *Our* Self much obliged to your Imperiall Maiestie for acquainting *Us* so freely and fully with all the late transactions and agreements between You the Great Lord your *Imperiall Maiestie* and his Royall Maiestie the King of *Poland* together with the happy successe of your *Imperial Maiesties* victorious Armes against your Own rebels and such as ioyned with them. For which *Wee* reioyce and do heartily congratulate with your *Imperiall Maiestie* wishing that all your Enemys and such as shall rise up against you may by the power of your Army's and the assistance of Almighty God be overthrown and brought to confusion.

We have also read with great sorrow and trouble of mind that part of your *Imperiall Maiesties* Letter which relates the destructive Invasion lately made by the Turkish *Sultan* and his Confederates upon his Royall Maiestie the King of *Polands* Countreys and Dominions with the taking of Kamienitz [Kamienisk] in Podolia and the sad and dismall consequences thereof which affect Our Royall heart with a very compassionate sense of the misery and destruction brought upon so many poore people professing the faith of *Christ*. But it hath pleased *God* in his wise providence to exercise *Us* also with a great and chargeable warre, which *Wee* are forced to undertake for the just vindication of Our honour and the necessary defense of Our Subjects against the intolerable provocations and injurys which *Wee* and our said Subjects have for many yeares sustained from Our Neighbours the States of the United Provinces in the Low Countrey. In the prosecution of which warre, and the many advantages *Wee* have gotten upon those Our Enemys, *Wee* have alwayes retained pious thoughts and inclinations for peace, Wherein *Wee* are the more confirmed by your *Imperiall Maiesties* Christian exhortation desiring that *Wee* would shorten the warre with the said States. In order whereunto *Wee* have already named and appointed Our ministers and Plenipotentiarys to meet with those of the said States, being resolved on Our part to neglect or omit nothing that may testify unto the World Our sincere and earnest desires of an honourable, just and lasting Peace to the glory of *God* and the good of Christendome. What the issue of this intended Treaty and Negotiation will bee, *Wee* cannot foresee, the same depending upon so many severall interests of Partys and allys. But as *Wee* have

76 Andrei Andreevich Vinius was postmaster general of Russia and Muscovia. He was instructed to travel and learn the current international theories and trends particularly regarding Christian Europe and the movement of the Ottomans. P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 127–128.

long suffered the wrongs and insolencies offered unto *Us* by *Our* said enemys with great patience, So *Wee* shall be willing at this time to accommodate *Our* pretences and demands towards the procuring of an universall tranquillity as farre as Justice and honour will permit. As for your *Imperiall Maiesties* desires that *Wee* would afford ayde to his Royall *Maiestie* the *King of Poland* against the Turkish *Sultan*. The great distance between *Our* Kingdomes and that of Poland cutts off all possibility of sending any Land forces thither. And for those of the Sea (wherein *Our* strength and Power chiefly consists) as they would have but little influence upon the Turkish *Sultan* in his Warres against Poland, So if *Wee* should send them against him *Our* Seas and Kingdomes would [be] thereby left destitute of those Armes and Navys which are very requisite while *Wee* treat a Peace, and will be absolutely necessary if *Wee* be unhappily forced to continue the Warre. Besides which *Wee* desire your *Imperiall Maiestie* to consider also the long Peace *Wee* have kept inviolate with the Turkish *Sultan* and the great Trade *Our* Subiects have in the Countreys under his obedience; and that as *Wee* cannot with Justice break the first, So neither ought *Wee* in prudence to quit and foregoe the latter. *Wee* have thus opened *Our* mind with greate freedome, and friendship to your *Imperiall Maiestie* *Our* beloved Brother, and shall upon all possible occasions labour to demonstrate the high esteeme *Wee* have of your *Imperiall Maiesties* person and *Our* readinesse to advance your great and generous designes, Not doubting of your *Imperiall Maiesties* reciprocall kinnesse to *Us* in all things which may concern the common utility of both *Our* Kingdomes and people.

And here *Wee* shall take the liberty to remind your *Imperiall Maiestie* of those ancient privileges and immunities granted by your *Imperiall Maiesties* great and Renowned Ancestors to the English Merchants trading in your *Imperiall* Citty of Mosco, and other parts of your Dominions and constantly enjoyed by the said Merchants and their Successors untill the late unhappy Rebellion in *Our* Kingdomes. But since that time, your *Imperiall Maiestie* hath been pleased to promise unto severall of *Our* Ministers sent by *Us* to your *Imperiall* Court that the same should be restored again so soone as your *Imperiall Maiestie* should be free from that warre against the Poles wherein your *Imperiall Maiestie* was then engaged. Which, being now fully ended and composed to your *Imperiall Maiesties* honour and advantage, *Wee* will not question but your *Imperiall Maiestie* will command the said Priviledges and immunities to be restored and confirmed unto *Our* Subiects in as full and ample manner as formerly; that the trade whereof the English merchants laid the first foundation in your *Imperiall Maiesties* Dominions, and which they have ever since carried on to the mutuall benefit of both Nations may not be taken from them by Strangers who neither had the opportunity nor the meanes to gain the good will and affection of your *Imperiall Maiesties* great ancestors in such manner and measure as

Our Royall Predecessors have done. Lastly as *Wee* have with all favour and due regard admitted and received your *Imperial Maiesties* foresaid Envoyé Andrea Vynes [Andrei Vinius], So *Wee* cannot dismisse him without that just praise and commendation which his prudence and diligence have deserved at Our hands and which will bee sufficient to render him usefull and acceptable in any capacity of publick service whereunto your *Imperiall Maiestie* shall think fitt to call him. And so Most deare and Loving Brother, Wee wish your *Imperiall Maiestie* perfect health and prosperity in all your high and Princely designes which together with the sacred person of your *Imperiall Maiestie* Wee recommend to the direction and protection of Almighty God. Written at Our Royall Palace the Ninth day of Aprill One Thousand Six Hundred Seaventy Three, and in the Five and Twentieth year of *Our* Reigne.

Your affectionate brother,

Charles R.

The initial 'C' encircles a crowned, seated lion holding a limned Stuart coat of arms. The remainder of the decoration across the top border and down the sides is similar to [3, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 16, and 22].

[18] 11 September 1676, F. 35, op. 2, no. 105, RGADA. To Tsar Fyodor. Parchment.

Charles the Second By the Grace of *God* King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our Deare Brother the most High most Potent and most Illustrious Prince the Great Lord Emperor and Great Duke Feodor Alexeowich of all the Great Lesser and White Russia Selfupholder, etc., of Moscouffske, Keowsky, Valdemerye, Novogrodea, and Tsar of Cazan, Tsar of Astrachan, Tsar of Seberia, Lord of Plesco, Great Duke of Smolensko, Twersko, Ugorsko, Permsekoe, Vatskoe, Bolgarsko, Lord and Great Duke of Novagorodia in the low country of Chernegorske, Resanske, Rostoffske, Yerosleffske, Belozerske, Udorske, Offdorske, Condenske, and of all the Northern Commander and Lord of the country of Everske, Tsar of Cattelenske and Grosenske and of the country of Caberdenske, and Duke of Chercaske and Egorske and of many more Dominions and Countreys both East, West, and North Heir thereof both from Father and Grandfather Lord and Possesser. Sendeth Greeting and wisheth all happiness and glory,

Most Illustrious Prince and Our most Dear and loving Brother,⁷⁷ We received with much grieve and trouble the Notification Your *Imperiall Maiestie* was pleased to give Us in your Letter of the Eighth of February last by the Bearer Treyнно Memthenore [Trifon Nemchinov], your Envoye, of the death of the

77 Full titles are included here as this is the first letter to the new Tsar, Fyodor Alexseyevich Romanov.

most Illustrious Prince Our moste dear Brother *Alexee Michaelowich*, your Imperiall Maiesties Father of Happy Memory. So are We not a little comforted to find his throne filled with a Prince of so great Vertues and from whom as Our Selfe We have reason to promise Ourselfe a firm continuance of that mutuall Friendship and good Correspondence which was between Us and Our said late Deare Brother Your Imperiall Majesties Father, and which has been derived down to Us with our respective Crownes from our Royal Ancesters through many and happy Ages.

We returne Your Imperiall Majesty Our most affectionate thanks for the assurance You are pleased thus early to give Us [of it], and desire you to rest confident of the singular Value We have for your Imperiall Majesties Person and Friendship and that We shall study on Our part in all occasions to give you the reall and effectuall proofes of it. So wishing your Imperiall Majesty Our most Dear and Loving Brother long life with a prosperous and victorious Reigne,⁷⁸ We commit your Imperiall Majestie and all your Princely designes to the Direction and Protection of the most High and Omnipotent God. Written at Our Royall Court in Our Royall Citty of Westminster the Eleventh day of September in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred and Seventy Six and of Our Reign the Eight and Twentieth.

Your most affectionate brother,

Charles R.

JWilliamson

The three letters [18], [19], and [20] were “written, flourished, and embellished” for Sir Joseph Williamson by Gideon Royer. Williamson’s name appears in the bottom right hand corner. He had held the post of under-secretary to Sir Edward Nicholas from 1660 until 1674 when he was promoted to Secretary. From 1661 he was also Keeper of the King’s Library and the State Paper Office. Moreover, Williamson “was in effect the de facto head of the Restoration government’s intelligence system” and worked closely with foreign policy ministers.⁷⁹ He also ran a manuscript newsletter for the dissemination of news of importance to the government. In a warrant of 27 September 1676 Sir Edward Griffin was instructed to pay Royer for “writing, flourishing, and embellishing three skins in velum” those being “for three letters to the Emperor of Russia, one whereof was sent by his envoy Trefann Memthenore [sic], the other two by the King’s own envoy, John Hebdon.”⁸⁰

78 Fyodor, born on 9 June 1661 was fifteen when he succeeded his father. Feeble from birth his reign was short (6 years and 98 days); he died on 7 May 1682.

79 Regarding Sir Joseph Williamson, see *ODNB*.

80 *CSPD* 1676–1677, p. 340. John Hebdon was the son of Sir John Hebdon (above, n. 46; below, n. 81).

The borders are decorated with coats of arms, seated and standing crowned lions, and other emblems of state limned in red and blue and in cartouche frames. Between the emblems is gold scrollwork and fine limned read and blue lines. The side borders are cut off at the bottom to fit the letter, indicating that the parchment was printed and limned in advance. The initial 'C' is not blocked off by a ruled line; it stands free within fine gold scrollwork. Within the initial is a medallion displaying a seated lion carrying a red standard with three lions passant guardant.

[19] 16 September 1676, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 106, RGADA. To Tsar Fyodor. Parchment.* Charles the Second By the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.,

To Our Deare Brother the most High most Potent and most Illustrious *Prince* the Great Lord Emperour and Great Duke *Feodor Alexeowich* of all the Great Lesser and White Russia Self Upholder, etc., of Moscouffske [*full titles follow, see above* [18]], and of many more Dominions and Contreys both East, West, and North, heir thereof both from Father and Grandfather, Lord and Possesser, Sendeth Greeting and wisheth all happinesse and glory.

Most Illustrious *Prince*, We could not content Ourself with the Compliments We made Your *Imperiall Maiestie* in Our Letter by Your own Envoye as well upon the death of Our late Brother the most Illustrious *Prince Alexie Michaelowich* Your Imperiall Maiesties Father of happy Memory, as upon the exaltation of your Imperiall Maiestie Our Dear Brother to the succession of that Throne.

We have thought fitt according to the particular and more intimate Frendship which hath been for many ages so happily continued betweene Our two Crownes to performe those Offices by a Minister of Our own, and therefore Wee have made choice of our Trusty and wellbeloved John Hebdon, Esquire, one of the Gentlemen of our Privy Chamber, as Our Envoy to assure your Imperiall Maiestie of the Brotherly part we take whatever befalls your Imperiall House, as well condoling the loss of that Excellent *Prince* the most Illustrious *Alexee Michaelowich*, Our Deare Brother, your Imperiall Maiesties late Father, as congratulating your Imperiall Maiesties happy advancement to his Throne.⁸¹ We pray your Imperial Maiestie therefore to receive him favorably and to give him entire credit in what he shall say on Our part more particularly in the assurances he is to give you of the perfect Frendship and affection

81 John Hebdon, son of Sir John, was 'ambassador extraordinary' to the tsar from 16 September 1676 to 15 July 1678. Bell, *Handlist*, p. 227. His first audience was 8 May 1677. For his instructions, see NA, SP 91/3, ff. 210–12 and SP 104/118, ff. 33–7, they are printed in S. Konovalov, *OSP*, XIII (1967), pp. 60–61.

Wee desire to cultivate with your Imperiall Maiestie in all things as well for the mutuall honour and safety of our Crownes and Governments in whatsoever they at any time may come to be concerned as for the benefitt and advantage of *our* Subjects who have been found for many ages so useful to one another in their Trade and Commerce; and so wishing your Imperiall Majestie Our most Dear and Loving Brother long life with a prosperous and victorious Reigne, We commit your Imperiall Majestie and all your Princely designs to the Direction and Protection of the most High and Omnipotent *God*. Written at Our Royall Court in Our Royall City of Westminster the *sixteenth* day of September in the year of Our *Lord* One Thousand Six Hundred and Seventy Six, and of Our Reign the Eight and Twentieth.

Your most affectionate brother,

Charles R.

JWilliamson

The letter is similar to [18, 20 and 21]. The borders are cut at the bottom as in the previous letter. The initial 'C' holds a cartouche bearing the red and white flag of St. George. Williamson's name appears at the bottom right. See [18].

[20] 16 September 1676, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 107, RGADA. To Tsar Fyodor. Parchment.*

Charles the Second By the Grace of *God* King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To Our Dear Brother the most High, most Potent and most Illustrious Prince the Great *Lord* Emperour and Great Duke *Feodor Alexeowich* of all the Great Lesser and White Russia Selfupholder, etc. of Moscovfske [*full titles follow, see [18]*] and of many more Dominions and Countreys, both East, West, and North, Heir thereof both from Father and Grandfather, Lord and Possesser, Sendeth Greeting and wisheth all happines and glory.

Most Illustrious Prince, We cannot but with much satisfaction reflect on the particular affection that most Excellent Prince, Our Deare Brother *Alexie Michaelowitz*, your Imperiall Maiesties Father of happy Memory had all along for Us, and which as your Imperiall Maiestie was pleased yourself to tell Us he so tenderly recommended in his last words to you his worthy heir and successor; And as We resolve firmly on Our part to deserve the continuance of it by all the returns of a sincere and hearty friendship, So We will not doubt of your Imperiall Maiesties readynesse to improve and increase a Correspondence that hath been for many ages settled between Our Crowns and People with considerable convenience and advantage to each other. Your Imperiall Maiestie will have understood how that in the time of Rebellion here in Our Kingdomes Our late Dearest Brother your Imperiall Maiesties Father, as an effect of his Kindness to Us and Our affaires, caused Our Subjects trading into

his Dominions to be deprived of all their Priviledges and so they continued till *God* having referred Us to Our Royall Crownes and Dignity We interposed with Our said Dearest Brother in favour of Our Subiects and had his Imperiall promise severall times most solemnly repeated. That so soon as he should be freed from the Warre he was then engaged in with the Poles and Tartars Our Subiects should be restored to a freedom of trade through all his Imperiall Dominions according to their ancient Priviledges and Settlement.

What it did not please *God* Our said Deare Brother lived to see effected himself. We now promise Our self from Your Imperiall Maiestie his successour as a foundation for that intimate and nearer Friendhsip We desire to contract with your Imperiall Maiesties Person. And therefore We have appointed that Envoyé John Hebdon, Esqr. effectually in Our name to represent Our desires to your Imperiall Maiestie in this particular as a Matter, not onely of gratification to Us but as a thing of mutuall convenience to both Our Subjects.⁸² And which Our late Dear Brother had so often and solemnly assured Us of. *We* pray your Imperiall Maiestie to hear him favorably in this matter and to give Us in the Successe of it the first mark of that ancient affection and kindnesse that have ever been between Our Crownes and People.⁸³ So wishing your Imperiall Majestie Our most Dear and Loveing Brother long life with a prosperous and victorious Reigne, We commit your Imperiall Majesty and all your *Princely* Designes to the Direction and Protection of the most High and Omnipotent *God*. Written at Our Royall Court in Our Royall City of Westminster the Sixteenth day of September in the year of Our Lord, One Thousand Six Hundred and Seventy Six and of Our Reign the Eight and Twentieth.

Your most affectionate brother,

Charles R.

JWilliamson

See above [18]. Williamson's name is in the bottom right hand corner.

The letter replicates the emblems of state and gold scroll work on the borders of [19–21].

[21] 30 June 1678, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 108, RGADA. To Tsar Fyodor. Parchment.*

Charles the Second By the grace of *God* King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the *Faith*, etc.

82 Regarding Hebdon, see above, n. 81.

83 See "Instructions from the Right Worshipfull the Governor and the fellowship of English Merchants for the Discovery of New Trades, Usually called the Muscovia Company unto John Hebdon, Esq., 16 September 1676," NA, SP 91/3, fols. 210–213.

To Our Deare *Brother* the most High most Potent and most Illustrious *Prince* the Great Lord Emperour and Great Duke *Feodor Alexeowich* of all the greater lesser and White Russia Selfe Upholder of Muscovia [*full titles follow, see [18]*] and of many more Dominions and Countries both East, West, and North, Heire thereof both from *Father* and *Grandfather*, Lord and *Monarch*, sendeth Greeting and wisheth all happiness and Glory.

Being by your *Imperiall Maiesties* Letters of the Twenty Seventh of February last informed of severall disorders and misdemeanours committed by John Hebdon, Our late Envoye to your *Imperiall Maiestie* whilst he was at your *Imperiall Maiesties* Citty of Mosco contrary to the respect due to your *Imperiall Maiestie* Wee have thought fitt to acquaint your *Imperiall Maiestie* that Wee will forthwith cause this matter to bee strictly examined and enquired into that so the said John Hebdon may be punished according as the crimes and misdemeanours which he hath committed shall appeare to deserve. And Wee desire Your *Imperiall Maiestie* to be assured that as well upon this as upon all other occasions Wee will give Your *Imperiall Maiestie* all satisfaction suitable to the esteem and friendship Wee have for your *Imperiall Maiestie* and which may tend to the improvement of the good correspondence between *Us* and *Our* Subjects. And soe wishing Your *Imperiall Maiestie* a long and happy life and reigne Wee recommend *You* to the protection of *Allmighty God*. Given att Our *Palace* att *Whitehall* neare Our Royall Citty of *London* the Thirtieth day of June in the yeare of our *Lord* One Thousand Six Hundred Seventy Eight and of Our *Reigne* the Thirtieth.

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles R.

Hebdon was annoyed by the Russians' intransigence on the issue of privileges. Unrest and anger among the English merchant community led to unruliness and public brawling that ended with one of Hebdon's servants murdering a Russian. This incident, and also that of a Russian soldier wounded by the merchant Charles Jordan had been reported to Charles, in February 1678.⁸⁴ The Dutch ambassador in London having been informed of the incident hoped to have Hebdon recalled from Russia.

The emblems of state and cartouches are the same as on the previous three letters [see 18–20]. The scrollwork is different from the others as is the initial 'C'. Within the initial is a seated (and forlorn looking) unicorn without any state symbol and similar to that on the first letter of James II, below. Fine red and blue lines run through the scrollwork on the borders. Blue scrolls decorate the 'S' of Second

84 CSPD 1678, *Addenda*, 1674–1679, p. 582; NA, SP 102/49, f. 43. For the story, see P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 136.

and 'By' in the King's title. Within the text many nouns are flourished in red rather than the customary gold. The borders, as in the others, are cut to fit the length of the letter.

[22] 9 April 1679, F. 35, op. 2, no. 109, RGADA. To Tsar Fyodor. Parchment.

Charles the Second By the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.,

To Our Deare Brother the most High most Potent and most Illustrious *Prince* the Great Lord and *Emperor* and Great *Duke Feodor Alexeowich* of all the Great Lesser and White Russia Self Upholder of Moscovffske [full titles follow, see [18]] and of many more Dominions and Countreys, both *East, West, and North*, Heir thereof both from Father and Grandfather, *Lord* and *Possessor*, Sendeth Greeting and wisheth all happiness and Glory.

Most *Illustrious Prince* and Our most Dear and Loving *Brother*, Whereas Our Welbeloved Subject *Samuell Meverall* of Our Citty of London, Merchant, hath by his humble Petition represented to Us in Our Privy Councill that Mary Hebdon late of *Archangell* in your Imperiall Maiesties Dominions in the yeare of Our Lord 1677 made her last Will and Testament and him the said Samuell Meverall Executor thereof,⁸⁵ and soon after dyed possest of a great personall Estate in ready money, goods, and debts there;⁸⁶ that soone after the said Samuell Merverall went up to the Imperiall Citty of Mosco in order to possess himself of the said Estate but found his expectation altogether frustrated therein by reason of some old debts pretended to be satisfiable thereout as due from Thomas Hebdon, the Testators late husband, although the said Thomas Hebdon upon a full tryall with the pretenders in his life time in the Court wherein (since commerce hath been between Our People) all Suits and controversies are onely determinable being particularly assigned for that purpose, was by a definite sentence declared in Writing under the Imperiall Seale acquitted and discharged of all claimes against him, his heirs, and executors, to those very debts; that notwithstanding the said sentence and the Law there (which as We are informed allowes of noe appeales from Sentences or Judgments under the Imperiall Seale to any other Judicature whatsoever) and that Your Imperiall Maiesty has ordered that noe Decree passed in your Imperiall *Father's* days of happy memory (at which time the said sentence was obtained)

85 Meverall was a member of the Russia Company and friend and correspondent of Gordon. See *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, II, p. 266. See below [24].

86 The Hebdoms (both Thomas and John) had been among the few English merchants privileged to travel in the Russian interior in the 1650's. In 1658 Samuel Meverall was also granted a five-year permission to travel "in return for services rendered to the Crown."

shall be controverted or questioned. The Pretenders have commenced their actions both against the said Mary in her life time for the said pretended debts, and against the said Samuell Meverall during the time Our late *Envoye* was in your Imperiall *Maiesties Court*, [*illegible*] upon showing the same sentence were then dismissed, That since he the said *Samuell Meverall* has met with all the hardships by being not onely imprisoned [*illegible*] both on his person and his cause but by being forced to pay severall great summes (which by like judgment under the Imperiall Seale in the Court aforesaid he ought not to have done) and having other summes iustly due to him decreed from him that as to the said Mary's Estate that he is now sued on account of the said pretended debts in other Courts (which according to your Imperiall *Maiesties* laws have no cognizance thereof having been determined as aforesaid) that he feares another sentence may be passed to her preiudice under the pretence of Judgment in another Judicature or that he may be kept involved in Suits to his utter ruine. And having therefore humbly besought Us to interpose with your Imperiall *Maiestie* in his behalf, We thought fit hereby to recommend his case to your Imperiall *Maiestie* desiring *You* will give order that Justice may be done Our said subject that hee may bee freed from vexatious suits and be permitted to possess himself of the said Mary Hebdon's Estate as her Executor, and that what has been uniustly taken from him may be restored.

All which We hope for from your Imperiall *Maiesties* Justice and Friendship, and the good Correspondence We desire may perpetually be between Our Subjects and People, And so heartily wishing your Imperiall *Maiestie* all happinesse and good Success in all your undertakings, We recommend *You* to the protection of the Great and Almighty *God*. Given at *Our Palace at Westminster* the nineth day of Aprill in the Yeare of *Our Lord and Savior One thousand Six hundred Seventy Nine* and of Our Reigne the *One and Thirtieth*.

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles R.

The borders and their motifs are similar to those on earlier documents [12, 15, 16 and 17]. The scrollwork, however, unlike that on the earlier letters, has the fine red and blue lines of letters [18–21]. The initial 'C' carries the cartouche with the red and white St. George's cross as on 20 and 21. The proper names are flourished in red and gold although the Tsar's name is in blue, the only blue word in the letter.

[23] 9 January 1682, F. 35, op. 2, no. 110, RGADA. To Tsar Fyodor. Parchment.

Charles the Second By the grace of *God* King of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the *Faith*, etc.

To the most Illustrious most Potent and most High, *Our* most deare *Brother* the great Lord Tsar and Great Duke *Theodor Alexeowicz* of all the great lesser

and white Russia Selfupholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see [18]*] and of many other Dominions and Countreys East, West, and North from *Father* and *Grandfather* Heir, Lord and Conquerer, Sendeth Greeting and wisheth all happiness and prosperity.

Most Potent and Our most dear and loving *Brother*, As there is nothing more welcome to Us than the knowledge of the great Blessings and advantages that attend Your *Imperiall Maiesties* most happy Throne and Government, So *Wee* have with infinite ioy received the notification of the honourable Peace Your *Imperiall Maiestie* has lately concluded with the Poles which has been imparted to Us by your *Imperiall Maiesties* ambassadour Peter Ivanwick Potemkin, Stolnick and Gentleman of Uglitz, to whom out of the great love and respect *Wee* beare to your *Imperiall Maiestie* *Wee* have granted the same honours and priviledges as are claimed or enioyed by the Ambasadours of any Emperour or Monarch in the World and because *Wee* might not loose any opportunity of cultivating and improving the kindness and Brotherly affection your *Imperiall Maiesty* has assured Us of by your *Imperiall* Letters. *Wee* would not let your Imperiall Maiesties said Ambassadour depart *Our* Court without giving this Testimony of *Our* earnest desires and resolutions to maintain a strict correspondency and friendship with your *Imperiall Maiestie* and to perform on *Our* part all things which may tend to the better accomplishment of so good a work not doubting but your *Imperiall Maiestie* will also preserve and confirm in the most effectuall manner the same kindnesse and intercourse which have been long since settled by *Our* respective Predecessors and were alwaies esteemed of mutuall benefitt and honour to *Our Imperiall* Crownes. And so with *Our* most sincere and hearty wishes for your *Imperiall Majesties* long life, perfect happinesse and victorious Reigne *Wee* commit your *Imperiall Person* and Government to the Protection of the most wise and omnipotent *God*. Written at *Our* Royall Court in *Our* Royall City of Westminster the Ninth day of January in the yeare of *Our Lord* One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty One, and of *Our* Reigne the three and Thirtieth.

[Your] most affectionate brother,
Charles R.

More than two years separated this letter from the previous. In the interim, on 14 September 1680, Fyodor had written to Charles expressing "a willingness only to remain in friendship and amity."⁸⁷ Relations between the countries had soured over the Hebdon business (see [22]), itself the culmination of many years of diplomatic strain. Now even with his congratulatory note on the end of the Polish wars, Charles refrained from raising again the question of privileges. That would wait

87 NA, SP 102/49, f. 46.

until April. Potemkin's embassy was the only one sent by Fyodor to the court of St. James.⁸⁸ A portrait of Potemkin painted by Godfrey Kneller at the time of the embassy hangs in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.⁸⁹

An element of decoration beyond the simple limning of stamped emblems of state is reintroduced on this letter for the first time since the reign of Charles I. The overall design of the document is similar to the others of Charles II, but between the gold scrollwork and the fine red and blue lines are limned tulips, daisies, and roses in red and blue, some interspersed with gold leaves. The initial in gold holds a free standing thistle with green leaves and purple flowers not confined in a medallion, the arms of the 'C' create an open cartouche. The King's title, using the term 'Great Brittain' rather than 'England, Scotland' also reverts to the past, raising the question of whether the limner or embellisher who designed this letter was using an older model. This letter and [24] seem to have been done by the same hand.

[24] 12 April 1682, F. 35, op. 2, no. 11, RGADA. To Tsar Fyodor. Parchment.

Charles the Second By the grace of God, King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

To the most High most Potent and most Illustrious Our most Deare Brother the great Lord Czar and Great Duke Theodor Alexeowick of all the Great Lesser and White Russia Self Upholder of Moscovia [*full titles follow, see [18]*] and of many other Dominions and Countries East, West, and North, from Father and Grandfather, *Heir, Lord* and Conqueror, sendeth Greeting, and wisheth all happiness, and prosperity.

Most Potent and *Our* most deare and Loving *Brother*, Having in *Our* Letters delivered to *your Imperiall Maiesties* late Ambassador *Peter Ivanowick Potemkin* expressed *Our* earnest desire to entertaine an inviolable and everlasting Friendship with *Your Imperiall Maiestie* and to render the same usefull to both *Our Crownes* and People, *Wee* have thought fitt at present to mention to *your Imperiall Maiestie* the many dissappointments *Our* Subjects have made [*sic*]

88 Regarding Potemkin's embassy, see P. Dukes, P.G. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 137–138. John Evelyn reported that on 20 November 1681 he was present at the audience for the Russian Ambassador at the Banqueting House and describes the presents of tapestry, sable and ermine fur, a persian carpet, etc., but, he said, “nothing was so splendid & exotick as the Ambassador Who came soon after his Majesty's restauration.” (I.e., Prozorovsky, see above, n. 33). This present ambassador, Evelyn said, “was exceedingly offended that his coach was not permitted to come into the court.” Evelyn, *Diary*, p. 715.

89 *Britannia & Muscovy*, p. 30.

with in the Course of their Trade within *Your Imperiall Maiesties* Dominions assuring *Our* selves of a speedy and effectual redress from *Your Imperiall Maiesties* great iustice and kindness towards Us.

It is well known that *Wee* having in the yeare 1663 sent *Our* Extraordinary Ambassador *Our* Right Trusty and Right welbeloved Cosin the *Earl of Carlisle* to *your Imperiall Maiesties* Royall Father *Alexie Michaelowitz* of blessed memory amongst other matters to demand the restitution of those ancient priviledges which were granted to *Our* Subjects in the Reigne of *Your Imperiall Maiesties* Royall Predecessor the Great *Evan Vasilovich* [Ivan IV], and confirmed and enlarged by *Your Imperiall Maiesties* Grandfather of blessed memory *Michaelo Theodorowich* in recompense of the great service, Charge, and hazard and loss of ships and Lives undergone by *Our* Subjects in finding out the passage to *your Imperiall Maiesties* Port of Arch=Angell till that time unknown and undiscovered to the Christian World upon which discovery *your Imperiall Maiesties* Royall Predecessors thought *Our* Subiects worthy of those Priviledges granted unto them under their Imperiall Seales which *Our* Subiects have at this time produced unto *Us* whereupon *Your Imperiall Maiesties* Father was pleased to promise that *Our* Subjects should be put into into the enjoyment of thier former Priviledges when the Warres then in being with the Crim Tartars and with the Poles should bee ended, the Execution whereof His Imperial Maiestie designed upon his Death bed by recommending to *You* his worthy *Heir* and *Successor* the continuance and improvement of *Our* Brotherly affection and Friendship. And accordingly *Wee* did not doubt but *Our* Subjects should have long since bin put into the fruition of the same. But on the contrary, to *Our* great grief *Wee* find yearly Complaints from *Our* Subjects Trading into *your Imperiall Maiesties* Dominions upon the return of their shippes from Archangell of the unkind and severe usage they are treated with. Namely that some yeares the Trade being driven so late at Archangell, the Shippes being over the Barr dare not stay there by reason of the Frost and foule Weather, but are forced to put to Sea and leave their Merchants behind. Which Merchants so left, desiring to returne home by land are not permitted to pass up to Moscow, and so through *Your Maiesties* Dominions, till they have first sent up to that *your Imperiall Citty* which is at so great a distance, and procured a Pass, to the losse of their time and great expense whereby they are hindred from coming home to receive and dispose of there Goods and provide themselves for the next years Voyage, which is contrary to the usage of all Christian Princes and particularly to the Treatment that is given by *Us* to *Your Imperiall Maiesties* Subjects, Many of whom *Our* Subjects have many times redeemed and brought away from Turkish slavery allowing maintenance to them till the time of the

departure of ships to Archangell, and then setting them there safe on shore in their own native country, without receiving or demanding any recompense or reward.

For Redresse of which Grievance untill Your Imperiall Maiestie to make good the promise of your Imperial Maiesties father which Wee hope and expect will soon be granted, Our Royal desires are that your Imperial Maiestie will be pleased to grant a settled and standing order to your Governors, Customers and other Ministers of Archangell, that Our Subjects may have freedome at all times in their Persons and with such goods as they shall have remaining unsold to pass up to Mosco and so through your Imperiall Maiesties countrey as they shall have occasion and to dispose of their said Goods at Mosco or in their passage thither as they shall find opportunity.

Our subjects further complain that they having Traded for considerable parcells of Hydes and all other Goods, they are not permitted to write up their bargain in your Imperiall Maiesties Custom house (which is the onely confirmation of them by your Imperiall Maiesties laws) unlesse they will write them up at more than they do really bargain for, whereby they are hindred sometimes Ten or Fouteen days before they can proceed further in their Trade which at that season in the yeare hath severall times been occasion of Losse of their Ships, as is well known to the Customers there.

Our subjects are further obstructed in their Trade by severall abuses practiced by your Imperiall Maiesties Governors and other officers there, who take from them in the height of their Trade, their Labourers and Servants by which means they are constrained to give money to have them restored. Wee are also informed that the commanders of Our ships are denyed the liberty of Brewing their Beer for their Ships use, but are constrained to take such as the Governors shall appoint; and for want of due care to supply them therein they are detained severall dayes from pursuing their Voyage, to the great hindrance of the Merchants Trading there and to their Extraordinary charge. And further that Your Governors at Archangell do yearly levy new Taxes upon Our Subjects: their Cask hoops and Firewood, imposing also upon the commanders of their Ships, Pilots, though men of little skill or use, and Lighters also, both which were always heretofore at the Commanders pleasure to choose or refuse as to themselves seemed most convenient.

Wee have likewise heard the Complaint of Samuell Meverall, one of Our Subjects who for the preservation of his life and limb was forced and compelled to pay a great summe of money, to witt Nine thousand Dollars, although his Case had been heard before your Imperiall Maiesties Father and a favourable Decree granted unto him as by your Imperiall Maiesties Letter under your

Great Seale produced unto *Us* doth appeare.⁹⁰ And whereas the said Samuell had obtained a Judgement against one Mintor of neare Two thousand robles in your *Imperial Maiesties* Office of Embassy, the Court Established by *your Imperiall Maiestie* for determining the causes of Strangers, the Persons that were engaged for that great Summe are disappointed of the said Two thousand Robles (which he had left to them) by the removall thereof unto another Office.

Wherefore as *Wee* desire *your Imperiall Maiestie* in the particular case of the said Meverall to grant a review of the whole matter to the end Justice may be done him, and restitution made in such manner as to *your Imperiall Maiestie* may seem fitt, So *Wee* promise Our selves that as *your Imperiall Maiesties* renowned *Predecessor* deprived *Our* Subjects of all their Priviledges out of a just resentment of their disobedience to *Our Royall Father* of blessed memory, the same Justice and consideration will at length move *your Imperiall Maiestie* to restore the same Priviledges unto them who have long since submitted themselves to *Our* peacefull and happy government; and that the generall hardships they lye under within *your Imperiall Maiesties* dominions will receive a favourable and speedy determination whereby *your Imperiall Maiestie* will not only have a due regard to the repeated and solemne engagements of that most Excellent *Prince* Our deare Brother Alexie Michaelowitz, *your Imperiall Maiesties* Father of blessed Memory, and to the most tender and sacred recommendation hee left *you* with his expiring breath, but even make *Us* and *Our* faithfull Subjects sensible of all such marks of Friendship as are customary between all other Christian Nations and Essentiall to the preservation of a perfect and lasting correspondence which will prove of mutuall convenience and advantage to our *Imperiall Crownes*.

And so with *Our* most sincere and hearty wishes for *your Imperiall Maiesties* Long life, perfect happinesse, and Victorious Reigne. *Wee* commit *your Imperiall Person* and Government to the Protection and Assistance of *Almighty God*. Written at *Our* Royall Court at our Royall City of Westminster this twelfth day of April in the yeare of *Our Lord* One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty Two and of our reigne the Four and Thirtieth.

Your most affectionate brother,
Charles R.

This was the last royal letter of substance regarding Muscovy Company business. The Company had suffered from its loss of privileges during the Commonwealth and from the competition with the Dutch that increased yearly from the 1620s and 30s on through the century.

90 Regarding Meverall, see above, n. 85.

Designed by the same hand as the previous letter, this is also decorated with small red and blue floral garlands within the gold scrollwork. The only emblem of state is the crowned royal coat of arms in the center of the top border. The initial 'C', similar to that above (see [23]) holds a rose plant, not a stylized Tudor or English rose but a garden rose in the same configuration as the thistle on the previous letter.

[25] [Illegible] 1682, F. 35, op. 2, no. 112, RGADA. To Tsars Ivan V and Peter I. Parchment.

Charles the Second By the Grace of God King of Great Britain France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc.

To the most High most Potent and most Illustrious Our most Deare Brothers the Great Lords Czars and Great Dukes Ivann Alexiowich [and] Peter Alexiowich of all the Great Lesser and White Russia, Self-Upholders of Moscovia, Kiovia, Vlodomiria, Novogardia, Czars of Kazan, Czars of Astracan, Czars of Siberia, Lords of Plescoe and Great Dukes of Smolenscoe, Tveria, Ugoria, Permia, Viatkya, Bolgaria, and others. Lords and Great Dukes of Novogardia and of the Lower Countreys of Czernegorsky Rezansky, Rostovesky, Yeroslave, Beloozersky, Udorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and Commanders of all the Northern Coasts, Lords of the Lands of Tversky, Cartilinsky and Gruzensky, Czars, and of the Land of Caberdinsky, Czercasky and the Dukes of the Mountaines and of many other Dominions and Countreys East, West, and North from Father and Grandfathers Heirs, Lords, and Conquerors, Sendeth greeting and Wisheth all happiness and prosperity.

Most Potent and Our Most Deare and Loving Brothers, Having entertained a singular Value for the friendship and eminent virtues of Our late Deare Brother the Great Lord and Czar and great Duke Pheodor Alexeowich Your Imperiall Maiesties will easily believe That as Wee received the news of the Death of so Illustrious a Prince with the most affectionate resentments of a Deare Brother, So Wee were extremely comforted to understand by Your Imperiall Letter of the Ninth of May last (delivered unto Us by your Messenger Demetree Semonofskogo [Dimitrii Simonovskii])⁹¹ That his Throne was filled with Princes of the like Eminent virtues and no less inclined to cultivate and improve that Friendship, good Correspondence and Entercourse of Trade which the Experience of former and late Ages has proved to bee so beneficiall to Our respective Imperiall Crownes, and Wee hope will be abundantly supplied if not exceeded by the accession of your Imperial Maiesties to the Throne of Russia and other Your

91 Regarding Simonovskii's credentials, see P. Dukes, G.P. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, p. 138, n. 39.

dominions, Whilst *Wee* shall on *Our* Parts content to do all things that may tend to the endearing *Our Selfe* to your *Imperiall Maiestie* and rendering that Brotherly love and affection that is between Us unalterable and perpetuall.

Having therefore according to your Maiesties Desires dismissed your said Messenger from *Our* Imperiall throne with this assurance of *Our* Resolutions and wishing your *Maiestie* a Prosperous and [illegible] administration of your Imperiall Governement with long life and [illegible] Happinesse *Wee* most heartily recommend your *Imperiall* [illegible]. Written at our Royall [illegible] at *Our* Royall City of Westminster the first and [illegible] day of [illegible] [y]eare of *Our Lord* One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty two and of *Our* reign the Four and Thirtieth.

Charles R.

The letter is damaged from damp on the lower fold, and torn in one place. Sections on either side of the tear are faded and illegible.

Fyodor Alexeyevich died on 7 May 1682. In order to allow for the news to have reached England the letter must have been written well after May. Fyodor was succeeded by Ivan v and Peter I as co-Tsars. Ivan died at age 29 in 1696 leaving Peter, later to be called 'Peter the Great,' the sole ruler. Charles II died in February 1685.

The initial 'C' encircles a rose that is the same in design as that on [24]. Across the top border and down the sides are the emblems of state that appear on [18–21]. Between the scrollwork are the fine red and blue threads are visible on earlier letters.

James II

Parliament's failure to pass the Exclusion Bill in 1680 guaranteed the dynastic succession of James Stuart II of England and VII of Scotland in 1685. He was the first (and last) Catholic after the Reformation to become King of England and be crowned by the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, preached the coronation sermon emphasizing "the sanctity of the Stuart dynasty" and styling James "the Very Similitude and Picture of Charles the Martyr."¹ At the new king's request the communion service was eliminated from the ceremony.

For the moment dynastic succession had trumped confessional persuasion. In the long run, however, ceding to Roman Catholicism (even while protecting the established church) proved an unworkable strategy. Failing to conciliate parliament and amidst growing political tension, James fled from England in late December 1688. Prince William and Princess Mary of Orange (both grandchildren of Charles I), were invited to take the throne of England and, after acknowledging the Declaration of Rights and its statutory component, the Bill of Rights, presented to them in the banqueting hall on 13 February 1689, were declared king and queen of England.²

James's two decorated royal letters to the tsars are explicit in request and one of them reveals a great deal about how he chose to represent himself and the crown to the tsar. Although he was not interested in furthering any relationship with the Russians he clearly supported the Jacobites in that country. These two letters are the swan song of our story.

We should bear in mind also that before assuming the crown in 1685 James Duke of York had been "a very considerable shareholder" in a number of joint stock companies of the Restoration period. Moreover, he was governor of the Royal Fishery Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Royal Africa Company.³ By 1678 slave trade, the commerce of the Africa Company had "assumed a predominant position in England's trade with Africa and the

1 Strong, *Coronation*, p. 340.

2 For the history of the Declaration and the succession, see Schwoerer, *Declaration of Rights*. William III was the posthumous son of William II of Orange and Mary, daughter of Charles I; Mary II was the daughter of Anne Hyde and James II, although she was brought up a Protestant. See *ODNB*.

3 Callow, *Making of King James II*, p. 238.

Caribbean” and fed the expanding plantations of the Carolinas.⁴ Whatever else these connections indicate they underscore the fact that the ultimate focus of James’s interest was west and south rather than east and north. Russia could not compete.

The two decorated letters from the reign of James II are to the Tsars Ivan V (ruled 1682–1696) and Peter I (ruled 1682–1725). The first, written in 1686, was in support of Patrick Gordon’s request for license to return to Scotland with “his wife, children, family and effects” to meet responsibilities regarding his inheritance. Gordon, a Scotsman, well entrenched in Russian court circles, was denied license to leave and continued his position there as a military advisor to the tsar and unofficial spokesman for the Jacobite cause. This letter is unique in that in the title the words “King of Scotland” precede those of “King of England,” giving preeminence to James’s Scottish crown and credence to Gordon’s proximity to James.⁵ (James II [1].)

Some years later, in 1690, Patrick claimed to the duke of Gordon, his cousin in Scotland, that “I have got this Court [of the Tsar] still to owne his sacred majesty,” i.e., James Stuart, in exile from England until his death in 1701. Referring to William III, Patrick wrote in his diary in 1696 that he refused to drink to “the usurpator of Great Brittain.”⁶

The second letter signals again the English crown’s dwindling interest in relations with Russia and sounds the death knell for frequent exchanges in announcing that hereafter all ministers of the tsar coming to the English court “are to live and maintayne themselves and their Attendants and Servants upon their own Expense,” and likewise Englishmen in Russia would thereafter not depend on the tsar for subsistence and upkeep. In the past those expenses had been generally paid by the Muscovy Company but now that Company, as we have said, was in serious financial trouble, never having had its privileges restored after 1649. In England in 1698 it would lose its monopoly of Russian trade, a further deflation of its place in the changing commercial world.

William and Mary had little connection with Russia but rather followed the westward and southward thrust of interest that began in earnest after Cromwell’s naval triumphs in the Caribbean, increased with Charles II’s plantation building and rice growing in the Carolinas, and was ultimately embraced

4 Ibid., p. 243.

5 Regarding Gordon and the Jacobites, see P. Dukes, G. Herd, J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs*, pp. 62–63; Cruickshanks and Corp, *Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites*, p. ix.

6 Diary of Patrick Gordon, Moscow, Russian State Archive of Military History (RGVIA), fond 846, OP 15, no. 5, f. 59; Ibid., no. 6, f. 25v (Vol. VI, *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699*, ed. Dmitry Fedosov, forthcoming).

by James II in his expanded dominion of New England that included New York and New Jersey. If they sent letters to the tsar they have been lost over time.

Letters (James II)

Printed below are the extant royal decorated letters sent from King James II to Tsars Ivan Alekseyevich Romanov (reigned 7 May 1682–8 February 1696) and Peter Alekseyevich Romanov (reigned 7 May 1682–2 November 1725).

For the editorial conventions used in transcribing the letters, see above, p. 4.

[1] 29 May 1686, *F. 35, op. 2, no. 113, RGADA. To Tsars Ivan and Peter Alekseevich. Parchment. 65 × 70 cm. See Fig. 2.*

James the Seventh By the Grace of *God King* of Scotland, England, France and Ireland Defender of the *Faith*, etc.

To the Most High Most Potent and most serene *Our Most Dear Brothers* the Great Lords *Czars* and Great *Dukes Ivan Alexeowich, Peter Alexeowich* of all the Greater, Lesser and [*illegible*] Self[uphol]ders of *Moscovia* [*full titles follow, see Charles II* [18]] and of many other Dominions and Countreys East, West, and North from Father and Grandfather Heirs, *Lords, and Conquerors*, Sendeth Greeting and wisheth Happiness and Prosperity.

Whereas We are informed that *Our* trusty and welbeloved Subject Patrick Gordon hath served your *Imperiall Maiestie* many years and now serveth in the quality of Lieutenant General, who now by the decease of his father is to inherit Lands for which he must perform [*illegible*] Service unto *Us*.⁷ And *We* having use for the service of such of our Subjects as have been bred up in military Employments *We* doe therefore desire of your *Maiestie* that you would dismiss the said Patrick Gordon with his wife, children, Family and effects out of *your* Dominions which *We* rather desire because *We* know that *your* greate vertue has procured from *God* the blessing of an universal peace procured with all your Neighbors, The doing this will be an encouragement to men of honour and vertue to repair to *your* service whenever *you* shall have occasion for them. And whenever the opportunity is given *Us* of doing *you* the like Pleasure *We* shall heartily imbrace it. And so *We* pray *God* to have your *Imperiall Maiestie*

7 See *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*. After ten years in Poland, Gordon went to Moscow in 1661 to join a regiment under the command of a fellow Scot, Daniel Crawford. With intermittent returns to England, he remained in Russia where he died in 1699.

into his holy Protection. *Given at Our Court at Windsor the twenty Ninth day of May One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty Six, in the Second Year of Our Reigne,*

Your affectionate Brother,

James R.

Melfort

In recognizing Patrick Gordon's Scottish heritage and Stuart loyalty James abandoned the customary style and inverted his title to put Scotland first. Perhaps that was the idea of John Drummond, styled first earl of Melfort, who prepared the letter. Drummond had been appointed one of the secretaries for Scotland in 1684 and on the death of Charles II was confirmed in that office by James II and elevated as Viscount Melfort in April 1685 and as Earl of Melfort in August 1686. By 1688 Melfort had become James II's principal Secretary of State following him to Ireland and eventually to France.⁸

The initial 'J' on the letter encircles a unicorn similar to that on the letter of Charles II, [21]. This one, however, in keeping with the title that places Scotland first also carries the blue and white saltire of St. Andrew for Scotland; there is no flag of St. George. The other symbols of state also acknowledge Scotland first, as with the royal coat of arms in the center of the top border where the unicorn is in the primary place on the left, and the English lion on the right. To the right of Center is a lion standing on a crimson crown and to the left a crimson lion holding the sword and scepter and sitting on the imperial crown. On the left border is a crowned gold and red shield, and below it the azure crowned azure shield displaying three fleurs-de-lis. On the right border is a crowned red shield with three lions passant guardant, and below it a crowned shield displaying a golden harp on an azure ground.

[2] 4 December 1687, F. 35, op. 2, no. 114, RGADA. To Tsars Ivan and Peter Alekseevich. Parchment. 84 × 74cm.

James the Second By the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. Defender of the Faith, etc.

To the Most High most Potent and most Illustrious, Our most Deare Brothers the Great Lords Czars and Great Dukes Ivan Alexeiowich [and] Peter Alexeiowich of all the Greater, Lesser, and White Russia Self-Upholders of Moscovia [full titles follow, see Charles II [18]] and of many other Dominions and Countryes East, West, and North from Father and Grandfather Heires, Lords and Conquerors Sendeth Greeting and wisheth all hapynesse and prosperity.

8 ODNB.

Most *Potent* and Our Most Dear and Loving *Brothers*, Having understood by your *Imperiall Letters* written at your *Imperiall City* of Moscow in the year 7195 of the Creation of the *World* the 16th day of February in the 5th year of your Reigne,⁹ and brought unto *Us* by Wasily Timoffciowich Posnicoff [Vasilii Timofeevich Postnikov],¹⁰ whom your *Imperial Maiesties* have sent as your Envoye unto *Us*, That upon the motives of Piety and true Christian generosity your *Imperiall Maiesties* have entered into a firm perpetual and inviolable Friendship and alliance with his most Potent *Imperial Maiestie* the Emperor of the *Romans* and with his *Royall Maiestie* of *Poland* against their inveterate Enemies the Sultan of *Turkey* and the Cham of *Tartary* We cannot but heartily rejoyce for that prudent and glorious Resolution of your *Imperial Maiestie* tending so apparently to the honour of the Great God and to the exaltation of the Holy Christian Religion wishing your *Imperiall Maiesties* all the advantages and glories which may reasonably be expected from so Renowned an Engagement. We acknowledge *Our* self highly obliged to your *Imperiall Maiesties* for your Brotherly kindnesse in communication to *Us* that firme Alliance made with those great Christian Powers against their implacable Adversaries the Infidells which *We* look upon as the best and strongest Bulwark for the safety and glory of Christendome that could have been invented. And though *We* be so farr remote that *We* cannot have *Our* desired share in the honour of those laudable Expeditions yet *Our* Prayers to the Mighty Lord of Hosts are never wanting for the success of those Eminent *Princes* that fight his battles. *We* were over joy'd with the account the said Envoye gave *Us* of your *Imperiall Maiesties* health and happy Government and of your Brotherly congratulations for *Our* Ascending the Royall Throne of Great Britaine and also of your friendly offer of a nearer Brotherly Correspondence for the future between *Us* and your *Imperiall Maiesties*. By which *We* are encouraged not only to desire, but with some confidence to hope that at *Our* request your *Imperiall Maiesties* will think fitt to restore unto *Our* Subjects Trading to and in your *Imperial Maiesties* Dominions, all those Privledges and Right which were granted unto them by your *Imperiall Maiesties* Ancestors and long enjoy'd by the Subjects of *Our Crowne*, which *We* look upon as the most effectual means to preserve and [*illegible*] that full and perfect amity betweene *Us* and your *Imperial Maiestie* which has in former times been maintained and cultivated between both *Our* Ancestors of glorious memory. And therefore *We* will not doubt but that your *Imperiall Maiesties*

9 I.e., 1687.

10 Postnikov was in London from September to December 1687. Regarding his mission, see Lindsey Hughes, "V.T. Postnikov's 1687 mission to London: Anglo-Russian Relations in the 1680s in British Sources," *SEER*, 68, no. 3 (July, 1990), pp. 447–460.

will readily and chearfully comply with this *Our* desire, which will be to *Our* Great content and satisfaction and will evermore oblige *Us* to shew the highest favours to your *Imperiall Maiesties* Subjects upon all occasions.

Before *We* end these *Our* Royall Letters. *We* think fitt to declare unto your *Imperiall Maiesties* that for divers serious considerations *We* have resolved that for the time to come such Ministers as *We* shall send unto your *Imperiall Court* shall live upon their own Expense according to *Our* appointment and allowance, without receiving or expecting any money or Provision from your *Imperial Maiesties* or your *Successors* for or towards the subsistence of themselves and their Attendants and Servants during their Residence in your *Imperiall Court* or passing in and through any part of your Dominions. And in like manner such Ministers of your *Imperial Maiesties* shall at any time hereafter send unto *Our Royall Court* are to live and maintayne themselves and their Attendants and Servants upon their owne Expençe without demanding or expecting from *Us* or *Our Successors* any money or Provision for or towards their subsistence, during their Residence at *Our Court*, or their passage in and through *Our* Dominions. The foresaid Envoye at his Return to your *Imperiall Throne* will do *Us* the Right to let your *Imperiall Maiesties* know the constancy and sincerity of *Our* affection to your *Imperiall Maiesties* persons and interests. So praying for a prosperous and undisturbed administration of your *Imperiall Government* *We* most heartily recommend your *Imperiall Maiesties* to the Protection of *Almighty God*. Written at *Our* Royall City of *Westminster* the Fourth day of December in the yeare of *Our Lord God* One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty Seaven and of *Our* Reign the third.

Your most affectionate Brother,
James R.

*The resolution at the end of the letter indicating that the English Crown would no longer provide lodging and entertainment for Russian ministers and envoys nor would they require it from the tsar's government for English ministers is significant and related to England's decreasing influence as a trading partner with Russia. The last English ambassador in Russia before the Glorious Revolution was Patrick Gordon who had been 'credentialed' in August 1686 "in part to secure his release from Russian captivity."*¹¹ (See [1]). Gordon, however, remained in the Tsar's military service until he died in 1699.

The gold initial 'J' holds a single flowered rooted rose similar in design and color to two letters of Charles II [24, 25]. Centered on the top border is a royal coat of arms with remnants of gold leaf; to the left and right respectively are cartouches with state symbols, one displaying a lion standing upon the imperial

11 Bell, *Handlist*, p. 227.

crown, the other, a lion sitting on the crown holding the sword and scepter. On the right border are shields displaying the English lion and the Irish harp; on the left, similar shields with the three lions passant guardant and the fleurs-de-lis of France. In between the symbols of state are limned golden leaves highlighted in brown surrounded by fine blue and red lines and squiggles.

Conclusion

Seventeenth-century English decorated royal letters add a further dimension to our knowledge of the early application of decorative artwork, albeit decoration with a subtle purpose. It is only by placing these letters in their historical context that we can understand how and why they were limned. As we have seen, their designs provide an example of art in the service of the Crown, illustrating one of the primary means by which the king represented his person and state to foreign rulers. Variations in design and the textual messages of the letters are related to changing interests of the crown and evolving commercial ties of England's burgeoning merchant class, often court connected. Not surprisingly, the design and texts of the letters from James I and Charles I to the tsar in the early part of the century are quite different from those sent by Charles II in a world altered by civil war and radically changed by the march of time.

Through the transmission of patterns from Italy northward we find Neronian motifs and Renaissance scrollwork on the letters sent out by the early Stuart kings. These motifs were brought to life in exquisite detail and brilliant color in the 1630s and 1640s by the brush of Edward Norgate, known contemporarily as the finest limner of the age. Other than several miniatures, however, examples of his work are not extant in England. Now, in the collection of English royal letters in the Russian archives we can see for the first time the limning for which Norgate was famous.

The story of Norgate and that of limning royal letters itself, over the century moving from brush work to engraved plates, however, is not the whole story of the royal letters. They reveal political positions, commercial interests, and something of the diplomacy of the time, as a modern writer puts it, "the peaceful management of international relations."¹ If ambassadors of the period were said to be "the eyes and ears of the king" then the royal letters were the voice of the king, decorated to represent his Crown and Country and paid for from his own Household account.² Moreover, as the king's voice, the letters were instruments of policy drawn and drafted in conjunction with the secretaries of state. In response to the tsar's request for English soldiers to fight against Poland, for example, the king could request (if not demand) that the Russians cease selling naval supplies to the Dutch.

1 Barber, *Diplomacy*, p. 1.

2 Jean Hotman, *The Ambassador* (London, 1603); *STC* 13848.

The idea and form of the royal letter was not new to the seventeenth century but stemmed from medieval precedents. By the late sixteenth century the substance of the letters had expanded beyond addressing primarily matters of war and peace and the church to comprehend the interests of England's expanding trade and developing overseas companies. Privileges and taxes, together with concerns about commercial policy and personnel were matters critical to the prosperity of the newly formed Companies as well as to the Crown itself, which benefitted from and depended on their commercial successes and social and business networks. By the early seventeenth century royal letters were more often written in English than Latin and, at the behest of merchants working with the Crown, were exchanged more frequently than at any time hitherto. The decorated letters that have survived are primarily those that were sent to Russia, although we also have examples of those sent to China, Japan, Persia and Turkey.

Trading depots in remote places far outside of Western Europe and only dreamed about earlier had become a reality by the seventeenth century. There was yet no regular overland route to Persia but English relations with Russia, begun almost fifty years earlier, opened the way for negotiation about such a route. Under James I contact was established with China and Japan, although within a decade a long hiatus in their relationships with England would begin. The Ottomans welcomed English merchants and by mid-seventeenth century had granted them extensive privileges in Constantinople. The quest for naval stores (tar and hemp) and luxury goods (caviar, carpets, silks and raisins) with the simultaneous desire for new markets for English goods, as we have said, brought the crown together with the merchant community.

It is in this milieu of developing commercial ties that we find the origins of the practice of decorating royal letters sent eastward. The key to why the custom began lies in Nicholas Faunt's late sixteenth-century treatise on the duties of the secretary of state, admonishing him to keep a separate record book of correspondence with those places that "insist much on ancient immunities and privileges."³ The ornamented letters were reserved for them and Edward Norgate's patent explicitly names those potentates for whom letters were to be decorated. They were all outside of Western Europe. In confirmation of that point, I have discovered no decorated royal letters of the period in European archives, although ratifications of treaties and ambassadorial credential letters were traditionally ornamented.

In addition, some of the letters we are talking about are part of a particular historical moment. That the ornamentation of those of the 1630s and early

3 See above, Chapter 3, n. 3.

1640s is of such high quality is the coincidence of a fine limner, Norgate, and a king, Charles I, with a great love of art who cared deeply about the representation of his Crown in matters of diplomacy. The accessibility of new designs from all over Europe transmitted through books and engravers' plates but also seen in situ during travels to Italy and elsewhere, provided Norgate with inspiration. His ornamentation is exquisitely limned filled with life, sometimes humor, and is always artistically ingenious. The letters after the civil wars and commonwealth reflect a changed world and the tastes of a king less interested in design than in the replication of state symbols confirming the Stuart dynasty. With the introduction of the rolling press that enabled printing on parchment from engraved plates at less cost than hand work the decorative schemes of the later letters were considerably altered.

Throughout the century the ornamentation of the letters was related to their purpose and content. In the middle years of Charles I's reign, as English merchants pressed harder for Russian privileges, and the Crown sought to purchase grain for England and Ireland during years of poor harvest, the letters became more and more intricate in pattern and execution. That appears to be intentional. Toward the end of the century, however, that changed. English merchants turning westward had begun putting capital into rice and cotton plantations in the Carolinas, while the king's marriage to Catharine of Braganza brought Indian and Portuguese ports and goods closer to home. As the focus of crown interest changed the decoration of royal letters to the tsars decreased in importance and concomitantly in quality. That decrease is visible in the cheap printing from engraving plates and the sloppy coloring on the later letters of the 1660s.

Well before the Restoration, from the beginning of the century and even earlier, there was an expectation of design related to position among rulers of East and West. When Sir William Alexander, a gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince Charles, and master of requests, wrote to Secretary Conway in 1624 about a picture to be sent from James to an ecclesiastic, he said it should be "garnished with stones" because the man, although a churchman, "will expect what is due to his birth" and because the king "should not offer anything unworthy of himself."⁴ Moreover, as one historian has said, "Magnificence was a royal obligation."⁵ After Sir Thomas Roe had presented gifts to the Moghul Jahangir in 1615 it was reported that when the English had gone the moghul asked a Jesuit who was present, "whether the King of England were a great kynge that

4 4 February 1624. SP 12/155:10.

5 Phillipa Glanville, "The Goldsmiths and the Court: Silver in London 1600–65," in *Britannia and Muscovy*, p. 48.

sent presents of so small valewe,” saying that “he [Jahangir] looked for some jewels.”⁶ The Jesuit’s response was not recorded but that the importance of the ruler was measured by the value of the gifts is clear from the question.

The Russians shared this expectation of magnificence “judging the seriousness of a foreign embassy,” for example “by the opulence of its gifts.”⁷ The tsar, in turn, embellished some of his letters to the English king. That of September 1617 congratulating King James on the conclusion of the Treaty of Stolbova, for example, is now in the Bodleian Library.⁸ And a letter of February 1665 from Tsar Aleksei to Charles II is in the British Library, heavily ornamented in gold but without color.⁹ It does not appear that strict reciprocity was an issue with the letters as it was with ambassadorial gifts.¹⁰ The decorated letters sent out from England well outnumber those ornamented letters received in London from Moscow, and underscore England’s continuous requests for privileges and licenses to travel. The requests were not one sided, however; the Russians, too, wanted something from the English. Aside from commerce and trade the royal letters also opened the way for the transmission of cultural ideas and artistic design West to East. The English doctors, apothecaries, goldsmiths, and mining engineers, asked for by the Tsar provided a substantial community of Englishmen living in Moscow that is only now beginning to be explored.

Another question we might ask is whether the English decorations had any impact on Russian art. We know that the tsar and his close council saw the letters. It is also probable that they were seen by members of the Foreign Office who were responsible in 1672 for compiling the richly decorated *Tsarskii Tituliarnik* or *The Tsar’s Book of Titles* as a guide for ambassadorial titulature.¹¹ There we see the uniquely Russian pallet, more fuschia, aubergine, and yellow

6 Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, p. 169.

7 James H. Billington, “The Projection and Celebration of Power,” *Gifts to the Tsars*, ed. Barry Shifman and Guy Walton, p. 18.

8 Ashmole 1763, f. 53, Bodleian Library. A black and white illustration can be found in Kononov, “Seven Russian Royal Letters,” p. 125.

9 BL Add. 21,408. The design is in gold, across the top of the manuscript; an imperial crown with a cross on the top is at the center; on the right hand a gold design that extends the length of the first half of the text; on the left a dissimilar design. There is no color on the letter itself. On the outside is a red-orange seal with a paper cover embossed with a double-headed eagle. The covered seal is attached to the parchment and enclosed in a cutwork envelope.

10 Jansson, “Measured Reciprocity,” pp. 348–370.

11 *Tsarskii tituliarnik*, Fond Stoli a rova, 2 vols. (Moscow, 2007) Volume 2, p. 26: “In the seventeenth century the Russian and English diplomatic offices, in contrast to other countries of Europe, kept to the tradition of especially richly colorful decoration of all, even

than used earlier by the English, and floral designs whose inspiration is Persian as distinct from the Renaissance-influenced motifs employed by Norgate and others in England.¹² Specifically, the decorated English royal coat of arms reproduced in the *Tsarskii Tituliarnik*, however, probably did come from the prototype on the royal letters.

The last two decorated letters in the Russian collection are from James II in 1686 and 1687. James II left England at the end of 1688, paving the way for the joint monarchy of William and Mary and the constitutional changes declared by many to have brought about a Glorious Revolution. All of this, however, had little effect on Russian relations or the Muscovy Company. Chartered in 1555, it had become a regulated company in the 1630s, lost its privileges in Russia in 1649, and its monopoly of English trade to Russia in 1698. The decrease in the numbers of letters to the tsars by the 1680s is a reflection of the changing interests of the British monarchy and its turn westward in shipping and trade, toward a new world plantation economy. The Russia Company in its decline flirted with a commercial treaty under Queen Anne and experienced a resurgence of trade under the Walpole ministry in the 1730s, but it never regained the prestige it had held under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts.¹³

not very important ambassadorial documents". Translation courtesy of Professor Paul Bushkovitch.

12 Jones, *Ornament*, Persian plates 4 and 5.

13 See N.C. Hunt, "The Russia Company and the Government, 1730–42," *OSP*, VII (1957), pp. 27–65.

Appendix 1: Notes on the Letters Printed from RGADA

Many of the letters from the kings of England to the Russian tsars have notes, usually at the bottom of the page, from seventeenth century secretaries of the Ambassadorial Office and sometimes notes of eighteenth century archivists. The secretaries normally dated the letters by time of receipt, summarized the content, and identified the translator. The eighteenth century archivists only translated the date of composition into Russian. In the texts below the two types of notes are indicated by the century of the handwriting.

The Russian dating system in the seventeenth century differed from normal Western usage. Years were dated from the creation of the world, 5508 BC, and the year started on September 1. The years were also abbreviated, so that 7158 was normally written 158. In this system, 1 September 158 to 31 December of that year was 1649, while 158 from 1 January to 30 August was equivalent to 1650. Peter the Great replaced this calendar with the Western (Julian) calendar from 1 January 1700.

The translations from the Russian are printed below in italics. The abbreviations are transcribed as they appear in the letters.¹

RGADA, f. 35

James I [5]: d. 24 [18th c.] 30-го сентября въ 30 год его государствования (*30th September in the thirtieth year of his reign.*)

James I [7]: d. 26 [17th c.] Грамота что писалъ к Гдрю Црю и Великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всея Руси аглинской Якуб корол о агличенине о Роберте Каре что Гдръ пожаловал а он поехал к Гдрю служити (*Letter that the English King James wrote to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich about the Englishman Robert Carr, that the sovereign grant that he go to serve the sovereign.*)²

ркз Году апреля въ кз день переводил Иван Фомин (*The year 127[1619] April 27 Ivan Fomin translated.*)³

1 The author thanks Professor Paul Bushkovitch for compiling and translating these notes from the letters.

2 Regarding Carr or Kerr, see Chapter 5, n. 44.

3 Fomin (see below) was John Elmson. See also Chapter 6, n. 60.

James I [13]: d. 33 [18th c] маия въ 20-ое въ 20 год его государствования (*May 20 in the twentieth year of his reign.*)

[17th c] Грамота к Гдрю Црю и Великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю что писал аглинской Якуб корол обо о[т]пуски Ян Срупе (*Letter that the English King James wrote to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich about the release of John Scroope.*)

рла году октября в гї день переводил Иван Фомин (*The year 131 [1622] October 13 Ivan Fomin translated.*)

Charles I [1]: d. 36 [18th c] 1625 год 1 июня (*The year 1625 1 June.*)

[17th c] Грамота что писалъ к Гдрю Црю и Великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всея Руси аглинской Карлус корол объявляючи что отца ево не стало а после отца своего он учинился на государстве (*Letter that the English King Charles wrote to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich announcing that his father had died and that after his father he had entered onto his sovereignty.*)

рлд году з гонцом Янъ Кулч переводил Иван Фомин (*The year 134 [1625/6] with the messenger John Clutch,⁴ Ivan Fomin translated.*)

Charles I [4]: [d. 39 [17th c] Грамота аглинского Карлуса короля а привел еѣ ко Глрю Црю и Великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всея Руси аглинские земли дохтур Ортемий Дий

В ннешневом рлз году сентября въ кс день (*Letter of the English King Charles and the doctor Artemii [Arthur] Dee of the English land brought it to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich in the present year 136 [1627] September 26th.*)

Переводил переводчикъ Иванъ Фоминъ [] писан о дохтуре Дие да о Джоне Гилберте да о Джоне Мартыне отпущены к Гдрю служити (*The translator Ivan Fomin translated [] written about Doctor Dee and about John Gilbert and about John Martin, released to serve the sovereign.*)

Charles I [8]: [d. 43 [17th c] Грамота что писалъ к великомн Гдрю и святѣйшему патриарху Филарету Никитечу московскому и всея Руси аглинской Карлус корол прошлого рлз году а пишет что он Гдря патриархову грамоту принял с великою честью и бѣт челом на жалованой грамоте что хозяям ихъ дано (*Letter that the English King Charles wrote to the great sovereign and most holy Patriarch Filaret Nikitich of Moscow and all Rus' in the past year 137 [1628/9] and he writes that received the letter of the patriarch with great honor and petitions for the charter of grant that was given to their merchants.*)

4 We are unable to further identify John Clutch.

Charles I [18]: d. 46 [18th c] 5-го генваря 1630-го году (*5th January of the year 1630.*)

Charles I [15]: d. 52 [17th c] Грамота что писалъ к великому Гдрю Црю и великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всяя Руси аглинской Карлус король с агличенином с Павломъ Стерлиномъ в ннѣшнем рлѣ году апреля въ si ден а подал въ посолской приказ дяком о хлебе (*Letter that the English King Charles wrote to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of all Rus' with the Englishman Pavel Sterling in the present year 139 [1631] April 16 and he gave it to the Ambassadorial Office to the secretaries about grain.*)

Charles I [16]: d. 53 [17th c] Грамота что писалъ к великому Гдрю святейшему патреарху Феларету Никитечу московскому и всяя Руси аглинской Карлусъ король с аглечениномъ с Павломъ Стерлином в ннѣшнем рлѣ году апреля въ si день а подал он в посолском приказе о хлебе (*Letter that the English King Charles wrote to the great sovereign and most holy Patriarch Filaret Nikitich of Moscow and all Rus' with the Englishman Pavel Sterling in the present year 139 [1631] April 16 and he gave it to the Ambassadorial Office to the secretaries about grain.*)

Charles I [17]: d. 54 [18th c] 1630-го году 30-го сентября (*The year 1630 September 30th.*)

Charles I [25]: d. 60 [18th c] от рожества Христова 1632 30-го мая (*From the birth of Christ 1632 May 30th.*)

Charles I [32]: d. 68 [17th c] рмг году писано о Бережско устье и обида о грабежу чтоб пропусчат караби ево (*The year 143 [1634/5] written about the Berezhscoe ust'e [of the Northern Dvina] and the grievance about the robbery, that he might let his ships through.*)

Переводилъ Иван Фомин сн Алмазеновъ (*Ivan the son of Foma Almazenov [Helves] translated.*)⁵

Charles I [33]: d. 69 [17th c] рмг году Грамота что писал к Гдрю Црю и великому кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всяя Руси аглинской Карлус король с переводчиком с Анцом Англером (*The year 143 [1634/5] letter that the English King Charles wrote to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of all Rus' with the translator Hans Angler*)⁶

⁵ See above, n. 2.

⁶ Regarding Angler, see Chapter 6, n. 101.

Писано против Гдревы грамоты о учинении миру с полским королем что он о том слыша радуе [] (*Written in reply to the sovereign's letter about the peace made with the Polish king, that hearing about it he rejoic[]*.)

Charles I [35]: d. 70 [17th c] rms году Грамата что писалъ к Гдрю Црю и великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всея Руси аглинской Карлус корол с полковником с Олександром Лесли ннѣшного rms году октября в кс день чтоб великий Гдрь пожаловал попрежнему (*The year 146 [1637/8] letter that the English King Charles wrote to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of all Rus' with colonel Alexander Leslie in the present year 146 [1637] October 26th, that the great sovereign grant him favor him as before.*

Переводил Иван Фомин (*Ivan Fomin translated.*)

Charles I [34]: d. 72 [18th c] 1636 году 20-го января (*The year 1636 January 20th.*)

Charles I [37]: d. 73 [17th c] Грамота что писалъ к Гдрю Црю и великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всея Рус[и] аглинской Карлусъ король в ннѣшнем рмз году апреля въ д день (*Letter that the English King Charles wrote to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of all Rus' in the present year 147 [1639] April 4th.*)

переводил Иван Фомин (*Ivan Fomin translated*)

чтоб смолу отдат на откуп агличанину Томасу Вычю на и лѣт по тойж цене что де[ржал?] галанец Юлиусъ Велкинсонъ (*to let the Englishman Thomas Wyche farm the tar for ten years at the same price as [had?] the Hollander Julius Wilkinson.*)

Charles I [38]: d. 74 [17th c] Грамота что писалъ к Гдрю Црю и великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всея Руси аглинской Карлусъ король в ннѣшнем рми-м году а подал в посолском приказе агленской агента Симон Дихби [м]аия в si день (*Letter that the English King Charles wrote to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of all Rus' in the present year 148 [1639/40] and the English agent Simon Digby gave it in the Ambassadorial Office May 16th.*)

об агличенех торговых людех о Р[аф]е Бладвеле с товарищи [] д х []сч[] чтоб их для счоту отпустит в Агл[ию] (*about the English merchants, Raph Bladwell and associates [] that they be released to England for accounting.*)⁷

Charles I [39]: d. 75 [17th c] Грамота что писал к Гдрю Црю и великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всея Руси аглинской Карлусъ корол о Джан Картьрейтеве деле в ннѣшнем рн голу марта въ г день (*Letter that the English King Charles wrote*

7 See Chapter 6, no. III.

to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of all Rus' about the affair of John Cartwright in the present year 150 [1642] March 3d.)

переводил Иван Фоминъ (*Ivan Fomin translated.*)

Charles I [40]: d. 76 [17th c] рна году Грамота к Гдрю Црю и великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всея Руси от аглинского Карлуса короля о суконом зговоре агличанина Спенсера Бретона чтоб он сим тѣ сукна из аглинской земли к Москве отвезть поволит (*The year 151 [1642/3] letter to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of all Rus' from the English King Charles about the wool contract of the Englishman Spenser Bretton,⁸ that he allow him to bring those woolens from England to Moscow.*)

переводил Иван Фоминъ (*Ivan Fomin translated.*)

Charles I [41]: d. 77 [17th c] рна году Грамота к Гдрю Црю и великому Кнзю Михаилу Федоровичю всея Руси от аглинского Карлуса короля о дохтуре Цамберлина что он в аглинской земли задержанъ [] того что поѣхал к Москве лругой дохтур (*The year 151 [1642/3] letter to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of all Rus' from the English King Charles about doctor Chamberlen that he is delayed in England [] that another doctor go to Moscow.*)⁹

переводил Иван Фоминъ (*Ivan Fomin translated.*)

[**Charles II [1]:** d. 83 [17th c] рни г[оду] мая въ з день с аглинским послом съ Яномъ графомъ Кулпиперомъ (*The year 158 [1650] May 7th with the English ambassador John Count Culpepper.*)¹⁰

Charles II [5]: d. 92 [17th c] Грамота аглинского Карлуса короля подал полковникъ Андрѣи Форотъ в ннешнем в рое году марта въ кг день переводъ Томос Брейн (*Letter of the English King Charles, colonel Andrew Forrett gave it in the present year 175 [1667] March 23d. Translation Thomas Brain.*)¹¹

Charles II [12]: [d. 100 [17th c] Грамота к Гдрю Црю и великому Кнзю Олексѣю Михайловичю всея великия и малыя и бѣлыя Росии самодержцу, аглинского Карлуса короля прислана с посланником съ Иваном Гебдономъ переведена в ннешнем во рос-м году сентября в к день переводъ Томосъ Брейн (*Letter to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Aleksei Mikhailovich of all Great, Little, and White*

8 Regarding Bretton, see Chapter 6, n. 118.

9 Regarding Chamberlen, see *ibid.*, n. 120.

10 See above, p. 206, n. 12.

11 Regarding Forrett, see Chapter 8, n. 42.

Russia, autocrat, of the English King Charles, sent with the ambassador John Hebdon, translated in the present year 176 [1667] September 20th, translation Thomas Brain.)¹²

Charles II [13]: d. 101 [17th c] Грамота какову писал к Гдрю Црю и великому Кнзю Алексѣю Михайловичю всяя великия и малыя и бѣлыя Росии самодержцу аглинской Карлусъ король [с] стряпчим с Михаилом Головиным, в ннешнем во рос году генваря въ в день переводил Томос Брейнь (*Letter that the English King Charles wrote to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Aleksei Mikhailovich of all Great, Little, and White Russia, autocrat, with the striapchii Mikhail Golovin, in the present year 176 [1668] January 2 Thomas Brain translated.*)¹³

James II [1]: d. 113 [17th c] Грамота какову писал к великим Гдремъ Цремъ и великим Кнземъ Иоанну Алексѣвичю Петру Алексѣвичю всяя великия и малыя и бѣлыя Росии самодержцем аглинской Якубус король чрез почту, а подал сю грамоту ближнему боярину и оберегателю кнзю Василью Васильевичю Голицыну галанской резидентъ Яганъ Вилгелмъ фон Келлеръ в ннешнем рче-м году сентября въ еі день (*Letter that the English King James wrote to the great Sovereigns, Tsars, and Grand Princes Ioann Alekseevich, Petr Alekseevich, of all Great, Little, and White Russia, autocrats, by the post, and the Dutch resident Johan Willem van Keller gave this letter to the Privy Boyar and Preserver [of the Seal] Prince Vasilii Vasil'evich Golitsyn in the present year 195 [1686] September 15th.*)

Об отпуске с Москвы в свою землю Генерала порутчика Петра Гордона. (*About the release from Moscow to his own land of lieutenant general Petr [Patrick] Gordon.*)¹⁴

James II [2]: d. 114 [17th c] Грамота к великим Гдрем Црем и великим Кнзем Иоанну Алексѣвичю Петру Алексѣвичю всяя великия и малыя и бѣлыя Росии самодержцем (*Letter to the great Sovereigns, Tsars, and Grand Princes Ioann Alekseevich, Petr Alekseevich, of all Great, Little, and White Russia, autocrats*)

какову писал аглинской Якобус король с посланником с Васильем Постниковым во рчс-м году (*that the English king James wrote with the ambassador Vasilii Postnikov in the year 196 [1687/8].*)¹⁵

¹² Regarding Hebdon, see *ibid.*, n. 46.

¹³ Regarding Golovin, see *ibid.*, n. 64.

¹⁴ See p. 259 nn. 5 and 6.

¹⁵ Regarding Postnikov, see Chapter 9, n. 10.

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Abbreviations

<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i>
<i>BL</i>	<i>British Library</i>
<i>CSP</i>	<i>Calendars of State Papers (Domestic, Venetian)</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>HMC</i>	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports and Appendixes</i>
<i>JEMH</i>	<i>Journal of Early Modern History</i>
Ktd.	Knighted
MS	Manuscript
NA	National Archives
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>OSP</i>	<i>Oxford Slavonic Papers</i>
RGADA	Russian State Archives of Ancient Acts
rprtd.	Reprinted
<i>SEER</i>	<i>Slavonic and East European Review</i>
SO	Signet Office
SP	State Papers
SR	<i>Statutes of the Realm</i>
SSNE	Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database compiled by Steve Murdock and Alexia Grosjean, www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne

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 15 Jac. I, pt. 9, no. 15 (C[hancery] 66/2138, n. 15), N. Hilliard
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